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Moral Order and the Question of Change:

Essays on Southeast Asian Thought

Edited by David K. Wyatt and Alexander Woodside

Michael Aung Thwin
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Contents

Introduction	DAVID K. WYATT and ALEXANDER WOODSIDE	1
The "Subtle Revolution" of King Rama I of Siam	DAVID K. WYATT	9
Songs at the Edge of the Forest: Perception of Order in Three Cambodian Texts	DAVID P. CHANDLER	53
Prophecies, Omens, and Dialogue: Tools of the Trade in Burmese Historiography	MICHAEL AUNG THWIN	78
Conceptions of Change and of Human Responsibility for Change in Late Traditional Vietnam	ALEXANDER WOODSIDE	104
Ranggawarsita's Prophecy of Mystery	ANTHONY DAY	151
Rizal and the Underside of Philippine History	REYNALDO C. ILETO	274
<u>Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology</u>	ALFRED W. McCOY	338

Baylan: Animist Religion and
Philippine Peasant Ideology*

by

Alfred W. McCoy

Introduction

The official campaign biography of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, first published in 1964 and since reprinted many times, begins with a remarkable description of a man who presents himself as a devout Roman Catholic and is the leader of the only Christian nation in Asia.¹

Not often does a man become a legend in his own time, while facts are still handy to mute the songs of fiction. But a persistent legend reverberates in the Philippines..., that Ferdinand Marcos has an anting anting in his back. The anting anting is a talisman. There are several of them in Tagalog and Ilocano folklore, originally the possessions of tribal medicine men.

The Marcos charm is a famous one. It is a sliver of petrified medicinal wood, so the story goes, bequeathed to Marcos by a legendary figure of the previous generation, Gregorio Aglipay. Among its virtues, it permits its holder to disappear and reappear at will. It has other supernatural attributes, one of them being that under some circumstances the use of it can restore the dead to life.

Aglipay was a Catholic priest who joined the revolution of 1898 against Spain, resisted the American Occupation, and afterward founded a revolutionary, independent church...Aglipay, before he died, gave his magic talisman to Marcos to protect him during the battle of Bataan [in 1942], making an incision in Ferdinand's back with his own hand to insert the amulet.

At Bataan, men knew that to go on patrol with Lieutenant Ferdinand Marcos, an intelligence officer who ranged well behind the enemy lines, was an infallible way to win the Purple Heart, if not a gold star... Selected to patrol with him, the men would rub his back, each in turn, a superstitious gesture. But several who did not participate in this ceremony had not returned.

That former President Sukarno of Indonesia or Field Marshal Sarit of Thailand should have been described in such a fashion would hardly merit comment. But for President Marcos, who styles himself a rational manager of governments, to encourage dissemination of such a description to a mass audience is an indication that Philippine political culture still exhibits significant characteristics that are neither Catholic, modern, nor Western. The mention of the "tribal medicine men" who possessed the earliest anting anting is a reference to the pre-Hispanic spirit medium, the baylan, whose descendants still practice the rituals of spirit propitiation in much of the contemporary Philippines and insular Southeast Asia. And his publicist's avocation of President Marcos' magical powers in armed combat as a qualification for national political leadership is very much a part of traditional concepts of kingship in the Malay world of the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. The region's oral traditions and literature contain numerous myths of ancient heroes who can fly or disappear by virtue of magical charms, and the modern social history of Southeast Asia is marked by frequent peasant revolts led by men believed to have great spiritual and magical powers.

While the traditional animistic religions of which these beliefs are a part have received considerable attention from anthropologists, historians have tended to pass over the magical talisman of peasant revolts as incidental manifestations of a vague peasant millennialism. Most describe religious influences on the region's political cultures almost exclusively in terms of the great alien traditions — Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, or Christianity. Anthropological research conducted in all major regions of Southeast Asia has indicated that propitiation of terrestrial and ancestral spirits remains one of the primary

preoccupations of peasants despite a nominal adhesion, in varying degrees of superficiality, to the great alien religions. Although historians of Southeast Asia have applied a number of anthropological concepts to their research with considerable profit, they have to date taken little cognizance of the literature on animism in their analyses of peasant political culture. This is particularly true for the Philippines where social historians have generally attributed the less rational aspects of modern peasant revolts to a vague millennial tradition or an ill-defined folk Catholicism. Not only has this approach clouded the social context of these movements, it has imposed an arbitrary and illusory boundary between the peasant political cultures of the Philippines and the other Malay societies of Indonesia and Malaysia.

During the early centuries of the Christian era the animist beliefs common to the societies of insular Southeast Asia were strongly influenced by Indian culture which provided similar vocabularies, myths, symbolism, and rituals for the propitiation of local spirits. The assimilation of Indian concepts established certain strong similarities in animistic religions throughout much of Southeast Asia. More importantly, it may have contributed to the resilience which has enabled these beliefs to survive centuries in the shadows of the state-sponsored great religions. Not only did these animist beliefs survive, they have continued to play a substantial, in some cases dominant, role in the mobilization of modern peasant movements.

Animistic Religion in Southeast Asia

Although there is a considerable fund of research on the Indian cultural influence on Southeast Asia's societies, the degree of similarity in cosmology, spirit beliefs, and ritual practice has, if anything, been underestimated. At the most basic level there are, as Sir James Frazer demonstrated with his weighty survey, general similarities in animistic religions and ritual practice throughout the world.² However, all of those areas

of Southeast Asia that the French historian Coedes defined as "Farther India", together with the Philippines which he mistakenly excluded, demonstrate close parallels in the conception and practice of animism that go far beyond the obvious similarities in spirit worship common to peasant societies.³

Although Coedes tended to equate the "Indianization" of Southeast Asia during the 2nd to 15th Centuries A.D. with the establishment of formal Hindu royal courts, its most lasting contributions to the region's cultures came in forms far less concrete than palaces and monuments — writing scripts, myths, vocabulary, ritual, cosmology, and demonology. If those scholars who have studied the Indian influence in insular Southeast Asia are correct in their conclusions, it would seem that Indianization transformed local spirit worship into a systemized world view with many of the qualities of a "great" religion.⁴

The similarities in these religions are most readily apparent in the Malay world of insular Southeast Asia. With only a few exceptions, the Malay societies studied have a popular conception of cosmology divided into a sky-world, earth-world, and an underworld all inhabited by large numbers of ancestral and natural spirits.⁵ While the spirits of the remote skyworld are often benign, the earth and underworld spirits (which are in constant contact with human society) are actively or latently malign. One of the most common earth spirits found in these disparate insular societies, the pontianak (Malay) or patianac (Tagalog), is a good example of the fearsome quality of the spirit world. Generally associated with infant mortality or stillbirth, the Tagalog patianac are described as "creatures with very long ears, long, grasshopper legs, and goat-like hoofs" who lurk about rural settlements searching for pregnant women to attack. Similarly, the Malay pontianak is believed to be a birdlike "banshee" that drives its claws into the belly of a pregnant woman, killing both the mother and child.⁶

Among the great number of natural demons characteristic of Southeast Asian animism, there is only one generally credited with a sphere of influence larger than a particular locale — the naga serpent

of Indian mythology. In the first book of the ancient Indian epic Mahabharata, naga serpents appear as the children of the god Kadru who personifies the earth. Generally depicted as predatory serpents, the nagas of the Mahabharata have only two effective enemies — their cousin the Garuda bird who is granted the divine favour of making the naga its food, and the Brahmanical priest "skilled in magic and incantations".⁷ The naga image appears often in pre-colonial Southeast Asia — decorating the temples of Champa in central Vietnam; as theriomorphic serpents carried by a row of 54 stone giants outside the gate of victory at Angkor Thom in Cambodia; and on the Borobudur temple complex in central Java where they are shown being charmed by the spells of a Brahman sorcerer.⁸

More importantly, the naga figure recurs frequently in the region's political mythology and state rituals. Believed in Indian religions and its Southeast Asian variants to be the owner of the earth, the naga is used as a legitimizing symbol in a number of dynastic mythologies. A 10th century A.D. Cambodian inscription traces the line of Khmer kings to a union between an early ancestor and a celestial naga princess; and an earlier Cham inscription refers to a Brahman priest who established a new dynasty by his marriage to another naga princess.⁹ In 1926 the British colonial ethnographer Winstedt reported that the naga symbol had played a significant role in a recent installation ceremony for the new sultan in the Malay state of Perak.¹⁰

The Priesthood

The region's animistic religions also have their equivalents of the Indianized Brahman priests and sorcerers who appear as the naga's nemesis in art and literature. In insular Southeast Asia the most common term for spirit mediums is derived from the classical Malay word belian — balian or waylan in Java, Bali, Borneo, and Halmahera; bailan, mabalian, or baylan among the interior populations of Mindanao; and baylan

or babaylan in the Visayan region of the central Philippines.¹¹

Not only is the same root word used in many parts of insular Southeast Asia but the specifics of the animistic priesthood's recruitment, social role, and ritual practice are markedly similar in several significant respects. Jealous of their territorial prerogatives if not aggressively malign, the spirits of this world frequently inflict evil in the form of sickness or natural calamity upon individuals or entire communities. Incapable of communicating with the invisible world of the spirits of their own, men are compelled to consult a baylan who can contact the relevant spirits and propitiate them with offerings of blood and food made acceptable with arcane chants and magic words. While low-level practitioners can achieve a modicum of skill through a simple apprenticeship, most mediums with any real influence in the spirit world have a divine calling, often an hereditary one, and are frequently guided in their work by a familiar spirit who serves as their interpreter with the malign immanence. The priesthood often imposes a demanding way of life on the medium and many baylan suffer a brief period of madness before accepting their calling — a sign of selection found among such diverse cultures as the Ilocano, Kalinga, and Isneg of northern Luzon; the Ilongo of the central Philippines; and the Ngaju of Southern Borneo.¹²

While contemporary baylan are usually religious or ritual specialists, secular and sacred leadership in the traditional societies of insular Southeast Asia were closely related. There was only the vaguest distinction in many societies between the religious role of the spirit medium and the political-military role of the secular leadership, the sultan and lesser datu. Depending on the immediate needs of a given society and its particular historic circumstance, a spirit medium could assume temporary political leadership, particularly during times of insurgency, while sultans or datus could preempt the spiritual role of the baylan to reinforce their authority in periods of acute political crisis. Datu and sultan were usually credited with possession of magical powers, and were often related by blood or

marriage to the baylan. In the 13th century, for example, Perak on the west coast of Malaya had a "state shaman" of royal descent known as the Sultan Muda. His 20th century successor is the leader of all the state's magicians and responsible for maintaining the spiritual vitality of the sultan's sacred regalia. The sultan, like the shaman, is protected by a familiar spirit, and in a famous ritual in 1874 Perak's Sultan Abdullah himself became possessed of nine spirits to divine whether his state's first British resident could travel down the Perak River in safety.¹³

The Great Serpent

The similarities of the baylan's selection and social role are significant, but they do not constitute sufficient evidence for a community of religious experience among Southeast Asia's disparate societies. Convincing evidence for such an interpretation can be found, however, through comparison of specific spirit rituals, most particularly the concern for naga orientation in house construction and calendric movements. While the use of the naga-serpent in temples and dynastic myths was the concern of the region's monarchies, the naga still plays a major role in Southeast Asia's modern peasant cultures in the realms of cosmology, spirit ritual, and calendric aspect. Usually depicted as a snake with a looped tail, the naga is believed — in areas as diverse as Bali, the central Philippines, and Nias Island off Western Sumatra — to inhabit either the sky, the underworld, or the depths of the seas.¹⁴

In his celestial form the naga is thought responsible for rains, wind, and eclipses, and similar rituals are used throughout insular Southeast Asia to control the naga and his natural consequences. In an account published in 1839, a British author reported that Malays along the Straits of Malacca believed that eclipses were caused by a "serpent devouring the sun and moon" and described the noise made during an eclipse as "weird lamentations".¹⁵ A 17th century Spanish missionary, Tomas Ortiz, wrote that during an

eclipse the Filipinos of various districts "generally go out into the street or into the open fields, with bells, etc., and by making a noise with these objects, attempt to liberate the moon" from the dragon, tiger or crocodile they believed was swallowing it.¹⁶ The persistence of similar beliefs in the lowland "Christian" areas of the Philippines was discovered in 1953 through a survey conducted by the Department of Education in Iloilo City, the major urban centre in the Western Visayas region. In the suburban Molo district investigators wrote that "according to the old folks, eclipses of the moon or sun were caused by the 'bakunawa' or 'a large snake'". Noise making was still practiced, although in a somewhat different circumstance: "Earthquakes occurred because a big monster was shaking the earth below. That was why, people had to beat empty cans and shout during earthquakes to frighten the monster away."¹⁷

Whether in his celestial or subterranean form, the naga is not immobile despite his massive bulk and is believed to shift his direction in four sudden 90° movements every calendar year. Since the naga is thought to broadcast evil and misfortune from its mouth, it is vitally important in many Southeast Asian cultures to orient the metaphysical aspect of one's calendric movements to avoid the current direction of the naga's venomous broadcast. In his Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1900) J.G. Scott observed: "The position of the dragon (topai or naga) during the month must always be noted and care must be taken to avoid its mouth in travelling, trading and enterprises generally."¹⁸

The correct determination of naga aspect, important in almost all calendric movement, is absolutely critical during the construction of a house. Based on his fieldwork in a central Thai village during the late 1960's, Dutch anthropologist B.J. Terwiel has written extensively of rural Thai house construction rituals which show a paramount concern for naga, or naag, aspect and propitiation. Two Thai books on ceremonies explain the correct procedure for the ritual specialist in digging the holes for the house's main support posts.¹⁹

He should not dig where the head of the naag is; it is believed that such an act would cause the wife of the owner of the house to die soon ...If the back of the naag is first dug into the owner of the house himself will become very ill. It is only through the belly of the naag that there will be happiness and luck. Following these instructions, it appears that during the months 4, 5 and 6, the first hole should be dug in the south, in the following quarter the first hole ought to be in the west...

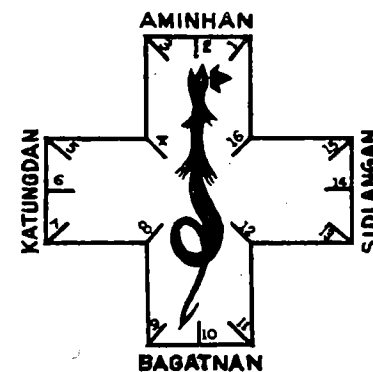
Referring to the work of French anthropologist Eveline Poree-Maspero on house building in rural Cambodia, Terwiel concludes that there is "a striking resemblance between the practices in the two regions." Based on the ritual handbooks of royal priests, the acar, collected in 1940-1941, Poree-Maspero describes the popular Cambodian conception of the naga's, or nak's, 90° movement four times per year. She explains that "one can, by conforming to the position of the nak, obtain good fortune and glory, celebrate a marriage or construct a house." First, the ritual specialist determines a fortuitous location for the house by considering the sixteen directions of fortune and misfortune that surround its site — the same number of points as in Malayan and Filipino naga-aspect calculations. Having chosen a suitable site, the specialist then calculates the naga's current position to determine the correct procedure for raising the main support posts: 20

Information collected in diverse regions tell us that the orientation of the nak determines the choice of posts which should be prepared, where they should first be sawed, the manner in which the officiant should install them, and the appropriate direction for throwing the earth excavated to install the posts.

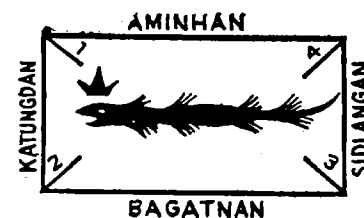
The texts indicate trimester by trimester the position of the nak with the ritual prescriptions which proceed from it, and the good luck which will result from their observation...

: The Rotation of the Visayan Philippine Bakunawa,
As Explained in Mansueto Porras' Signosan (1919).

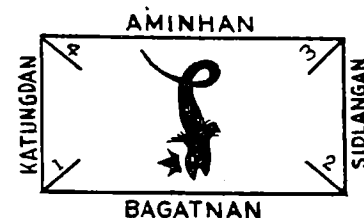
MONTHS I, II, III



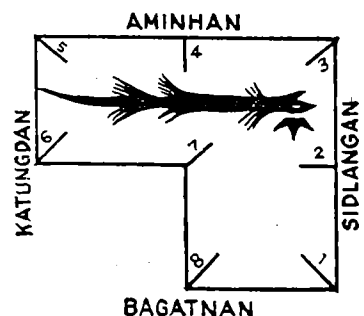
MONTHS IV, V, VI



MONTHS VII, VIII, IX



MONTHS X, XI, XII



One can see that the venom is directed at an intercardinal point between the two successive positions of the nak's head... According to the texts, the top of the post should be raised towards this direction, in some cases without hesitation and in others after first having been directed towards the head of the nak.

In the Western Visayas region of the Philippines the fundamental principles of naga, or bakunawa, rotation are almost exactly the same as those found in Upper Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia. The term Bakunawa was first defined in Fr. Alonso de Mentrída's monumental 1637 dictionary, Bocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya-Hiligveyna, as: "Bacunaua. They understand that there was a serpent which swallowed the moon; the darkness in which the earth is covered during eclipses: and thus...binacunaahan ang bulan, there is an eclipse."²¹ An 1885 dictionary of the Cebuano language, spoken in the central Visayas, defined the Bakunawa as simply "an eclipse of the sun and moon." Significantly Fr. John Kaufmann's 1935 Visayan-English Dictionary gave it as "a fabulous large snake or dragon believed to devour the moon at the time of an eclipse; eclipse of the sun or moon."²² The nearly verbatim similarity of definitions by Kaufmann and Mentrída, with 300 years separating their service as Catholic missionaries in the same mountain areas of southern Panay Island, is but one indication of continuity in such beliefs. While the words for naga in Cambodia (nak) and Thailand (naag) are closely derived from the original Sanskrit term, the Visayan Bakunawa is based on the word sawa meaning python (bakun-sawa, "bent snake") found in Tagalog, Cebuano, and Malay languages and probably derived from Sanskrit.²³

The importance of correlating house construction with naga aspect is emphasized in a number of Visayan ritual handbooks published in recent decades. The 1933 edition of the annual Almanaque, for example, contains ritual advice for Visayan Filipino farmers remarkably similar to that found in Thai and Khmer ritual manuals. Published annually in Iloilo City since 1884, the Almanaque had

a print of 40,000 in 1916 and has remained the largest circulating publication in the Western Visayas region until the present day. During the past half century most editions have shown the Bakunawa's image inside a 16 point chart, a guide still used by members of all social classes to determine propitious dates for major events. A passage in the 1933 edition explains the bakunawa's four yearly 90° changes of direction and their consequences:²⁴


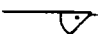














In the first period in the months of January, February and March the head of the Bakunawa is in the north and the tail in the south, and the house which is put up in the month of January is called the home of the industrious, the honored, and the powerful because its owner can achieve great things in work and arrive in honor and power in the town...

A house which is put up in the month of March is called the house of the orphans, impoverished, malice, and speedy death since the owner is in the midst of misfortune.

In constructing their houses today Visayan peasants still consult a ritual manual or specialist to determine the current position of the bakunawa's back. Unless the staircase of a newly constructed house faces safely towards the sky serpent's back, the evil broadcast from his stomach and mouth will come into the house through the door, killing the owner's wife or children.

In comparing the Western Visayas conception of naga movement with the Burman, Thai, and Cambodian versions discussed above, there is little appreciable distinction between the pattern of serpent rotation found in the "Christian" Philippines and the "Buddhist" nations of mainland Southeast Asia. The Visayan-Philippine naga rotates counterclockwise, as does the Thai, Burman, and Cambodian. While none of the naga start or end in the same position, the essential features of all four rotations are virtually identical — attitudinal shift by trimester, and completion of the cycle in four

PLATE No. 2: The Comparative Conception of the Naga Serpent's Annual Rotation in Four 90° Movements in Four Southeast Asian Cultures.

MONTHS (NUMBERED IN SEQUENCE)				
	I,II,III	IV,V,VI	VII,VIII,IX	X,XI,XII
Burma (naga)		 N		
Thailand (naag)	 E			 W
Cambodia (nak)				
Philippines (Bakunawa)		 S		

SOURCES: J.G. Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (1900); B.J. Terwiel, *Anthropos* (1976); Eveline Porée-Maspero, *Anthropos* (1961); Mansueto Porras, *Signosan Nativitate Domine Nostri Jesuchristi* (1919).

NOTE: While the months are numbered in sequence within the calendric cycles as they are established in each of the four cultures, there is variation in relative beginning and end of the year within the various cultures. Month one, therefore, is not equivalent to the same absolute time period in any of the four cultures above.

90° movements. (See Plate No. 2). Separated by the distance of at least half a millennium and several thousand kilometers, the peasants of four modern Southeast Asian societies were still practicing rituals in the mid 20th century that demonstrate remarkable parallels in both the grand design and the working detail of their respective cosmological systems.

The similarities in naga movements, post placement procedures, and aspect compass are compounded with strong parallels in rituals of propitiation to the local spirits occupying the house site. While the celestial or subterranean naga controls the larger fate of a house's prospective occupants, the local spirits are generally considered the "owners" of the house site and have to be paid a ritual usufruct fee by the home owner or they will take revenge by inflicting disease or minor ailments on its occupants. In central Thailand Terwiel observed that "the owner often engages a ritual specialist, either layman or monk, to pacify the spirits who may be disturbed by the building process."²⁵ In Malaya propitiation of local spirits occurs after the post holes have been dug and is made with the sacrifices of a fowl, goat or buffalo "according to the ascertained or reputed malignity of the locally presiding earth demon (puaka)."²⁶ In the Western Visayas, Philippines propitiation rituals usually take place after construction. A ritual observed in May 1976 at the town center of San Miguel, a municipality on the Iloilo Plain only ten kilometres from downtown Iloilo City, demonstrated strong parallels with Thai procedures — correct geomantic placement of houseposts, concern for naga aspect and food offerings to local spirits.

Ritual Human Sacrifice

The use of human sacrifice to restore major disruptions in the balance between the cosmic, spiritual and terrestrial is perhaps the most important of the other rituals commonly practised in Southeast Asia. The concept of a continuum in human, spirit, and cosmic realms has combined with a calculated gradation in values of ritual offerings to support

the practice of human sacrifice as the supreme spirit gift in the region's animistic religions. The most detailed examination of human sacrifice, Scharer's study of Ngaju religion in southern Borneo during the 1930s, argues that it was considered imperative at times when the community's survival was threatened by a major breach of natural law (hadat) seriously disruptive of cosmic balance. The actual sacrifice was quite simple. The slave-victim was tied to a stake, the community danced around him, and everyone speared him to death. But the ritual was performed with a complex symbolism designed to spark a cosmic renewal. The participants were divided into two groups symbolizing a fundamental cosmic dualism — watersnake and hornbill (i.e. naga and garuda), or underworld and skyworld. At the end of the ceremony the balian smeared everyone with the victim's blood at four spots indicating the four cardinal points.²⁷

While lowland Filipino groups in Luzon and the Visayas have abandoned the regular human sacrifices they practiced at the time of Spanish conquest, the belief still persists in some areas that large construction projects which constitute a major disruption of geomantic equilibrium — dams, bridges, mills and mines — require human, not animal, sacrifice to propitiate spirits of the land. American anthropologists working in the Ilocos area of northwestern Luzon in 1954-1955 reported a deep-seated popular fear of the Agtoyo, men who ride the highways "to provide victims for the bridge builders who reputedly drop the body or blood of one person into each foundation post, thus giving the bridge extra strength to withstand floods."²⁸ In the mid 1970s peasants on the Western Visayas were found to have a parallel fear of closed panel-vans in the belief that they were used by Americans, Tagalogs, or the local elite to kidnap people for sacrifice (daga) in mines and major centrifugal sugar mills. In a 1976 interview a respected babaylan, Gregorio Candado of Iloilo Province, then 75, recalled a sacrifice he had witnessed at a Negros sugar mill:²⁹

When I was still 20 or 18 I was called to Central Binalbagan to daga (sacrifice) for

the inauguration of the central. I slaughtered seven black pigs outside the mill near the posts around the edge of the building. While I was slaughtering the pigs, the machines were turned on and an old man was thrown into the machines. That Negrito was sacrificed to make sure that the milling was good. I saw the Negrito being dragged in by two men and even though the machines were going I could hear him screaming and crying.

At first when Binalbagan Central was opened the sugar was stuck in the machines and would not come out. But I heard some time later that after the daga the sugar started coming out. The spirits were stopping up the machine so the daga was made to pay them.

The expansion of milling capacity and a related increase in factory construction in the late 1960s spawned a new wave of reports about blood sacrifice in the centrifugal sugar factories. At a central in northern Negros Island a Japanese technician was crushed to death in the rollers in an industrial accident believed by workers to have been caused by the failure of management to offer a daga voluntarily. At Calinog-Lambuanao sugar mill in Iloilo Province "the management kidnapped an old man, turned on the machinery, and ground him up in the mill;" and at the neighboring Passi Sugar Central a two year old Negrito child was allegedly sacrificed in the same manner at a nocturnal ceremony. Whether or not such incidents actually occurred is not important. As in most matters of religion, it is belief that matters.

Sorcery and Curse

All of the foregoing rituals represent efforts by the baylan to assist men in their relations with the malign spirit world and are, to greater or lesser degrees, forms of what is considered "white magic." A less frequent, but still important form of ritual, is the baylans' use of their powers to curse, sicken, or murder on behalf of their clients. In Malaya mediums made wax figures with pins to madden, sicken

or murder. In the central Philippines specialists in the curse (hiwit), generally condemned by Western Visayan baylan as a mercenary corruption, usually use beetles (barang). The ritualist ties a victim's strand of hair to the beetle's leg and dispatches it with arcane chant to enter the victim's body through the ear where it sickens or murders as programmed. Charges in the Western Visayas for such service in 1976 were about ₱ 1,500 to ₱ 2,000, while curative "white magic" rituals ranged from only ₱ 0.50 to ₱ 10.³⁰

The enormous range of animist rituals covering almost every aspect of rural life give the impression of a religion which impregnates the world about the Southeast Asian peasant and governs almost every significant aspect of his behavior. It is a comprehensive faith, constantly reminding the believer of the close casual relationship between phenomena in the human, material and spiritual realms. Hence, it produces a formidable density of ritual, taboo and faith resilient in the face of the later introduction of the great alien religions.

Perhaps animism's most lasting consequence for the peasant cultures of the region is its inculcation of values of fear and avoidance. Just as the householder seeks only to avoid harm from the naga and the local spirits when building his house, so man in all his contacts with a spirit-impregnated universe hopes only to avoid the invisible spirits who are latently or actively malign. Observers of animistic religions throughout Southeast Asia have consistently noted the attitudes of fear and avoidance that characterize celebrants' participation. Writing of the south Borneo Ngaju, Scharer noted that the remote celestial godhead was both good and evil, but the immediate spirits in contact with man were perceived as exclusively malign: "We have seen that this aspect of evil in the total godhead is personified in various spirits..., and that the total godhead appears evil through them."³¹ A number of commentators have interpreted Philippine response to animism in terms of negative values. An Australian anthropologist who lived in a Tagalog village just north of Manila in 1972-1973 wrote that peasants refused to harm the rats and the earth spirits (who inhabited large ant hills) on

their farms out of conviction that they "are exceedingly vengeful and retaliate with the aid of all their kin and allies for insult or injury." And Barton, who made detailed observations of Ifugao religion in the mountains of northern Luzon during the U.S. colonial era, described their elaborate rituals involving some 1,500 deities as "psychologically, a moan of helplessness, a cry of fear, a flight from reality."³²

Given the religion's unitary perspective which views the individual, societal, spiritual and cosmic as a part of a single continuum, it seems likely that these religious values would have a strong impact on peasant political activity, a supposition confirmed by the frequent use of animist religious symbols in the region's peasant revolts. With several centuries of Catholic mission administration and a social history marked by frequent peasant uprisings, the Philippines is an apt area for the study of this problem.

Animistic Religion in the Philippines

Pre-Hispanic religion in the Philippines conforms to the general patterns of Southeast Asian animism. The major sources for its study, Spanish mission accounts dating from the 16th century and contemporary anthropological research, indicate a resilient faith which survived largely intact throughout the archipelago until the 19th century and still exercises a strong influence in many areas today.

Accounts of the early Spanish missionaries and colonials describe Philippine society as one characterized by little supra-local political power beyond the datu who ruled several villages or a limited region. Beneath the datu was a relatively unelaborated social structure comprising the bayani warrior class, the baylan priesthood, freemen, and several classes of slaves. While the datu and bayani warriors were male, it was the common practice to have women serving as baylan. In the areas of Luzon and the Visayas where Spanish civil and ecclesiastical administrations were effectively

established traditional Filipino political authority was quickly eliminated, but animistic religion proved far harder to eradicate.³³

The earliest missionaries were encouraged by the apparent willingness of the Filipinos to abandon their paganism and be baptized, and were convinced that they had destroyed a religion which they perceived as a palpable manifestation of Satan's presence. An Augustinian missionary in the Tagalog region of central Luzon wrote in 1589 that animist worship had been eradicated after less than ten years of missionary labors: "May the honor and glory be God our Lord's, that among the Tagals not a trace of this is left... thanks to the preaching of the holy gospel which banished it."³⁴ A more prolonged contact, however, convinced many Spanish priests that Filipino conversions were largely superficial. Writing to one of his superiors in 1660, a Jesuit missionary with prolonged service in the Visayas reported that even the nominally Christian Visayans "leave their faith and their Christian principles the moment they leave the church" and observed the "survival of their ancient usages and superstitions."³⁵

The survival of the animistic faith can be attributed not only to the strength of the indigenous religion but, in part, to the proselytising tactics of the Spanish missionaries. Rather than simply dismissing the native faith as invalid, the Spanish missionaries, trained in a Christian Europe that was very much involved in the liquidation of its own pagan legacy through inquisition of Satanism and witch trials, regarded Filipino animism as a credible evil to be confronted and overwhelmed with the might of Latin invocations and Christian symbols.

Confronted with the common Filipino belief that the spirits are the owners of certain trees whose fruits were forbidden, a Recollect missionary working in the Zambales area of central Luzon in 1605 used a Latin invocation to cast out the malign spirits:³⁶

Fray Rodrigo, on passing through a thicket

consecrated to their devils (where, as their rites said, it was sacrilege to cut or touch any branch — besides the great fear that they had conceived that if anyone should have the audacity to do, or to take the least thing, he would surely die immediately), saw a tree covered with a certain fruit which they called pahos, that resemble the excellent plums that we know in Europe. The good religious, arming himself with prayer and with the sign of the cross, and repeating the antiphony, Ecce crucem Domini: Fugite partes adversae. Vicit leo tribu Juda, began to break the branches and to climb the tree, where he gathered a great quantity of the fruit... The Indians looked at his face, expecting every moment to see a dead man... Thereupon, all of them, convinced and surprised, not one of them being wanting, followed him axes in hand, and felled that thicket, casting contempt on the devil; and many infidels ended by submitting to the knowledge of the truth.

If the Filipinos of Zambales learned of Latin's magical powers only by imitation, those in Taytay near Manila were taught the use of Latin amulets by the priests themselves. One account written in 1600 tells how a Spanish priest cured a madman:³⁷

The Brother advised him to keep his faith in Our Lord and to put his trust in the power of the holy Angus Dei and told him about the...miracles He has wrought by means of this sacred relic. He then put an Agnus Dei round the man's neck. From that moment on the man felt at peace, and to prove that He was dispensing that mercy by means of this holy relic of Our Lord permitted that every time the man removed it, even for the briefest interval, he immediately lost control of himself. Keeping it on, however, he walks about very quietly, praising Our Lord profusely and telling everyone of the efficacy of the holy Angus Dei.

The conversion process illustrated in these incidents and many others like them involved, in essence, the use of miraculous (in Catholic terms) magical (in Filipino animist terms) power of Catholic symbols to overwhelm malign spirits — a technique strikingly similar to that used by the native baylan. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Augustinian missionary Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, who served in the Tagalog provinces from 1786 to 1818, observed animist practices that had altered little after two centuries of evangelization. In the appendix to his work on Philippine religion Zuñiga elaborated on the reduction of Catholic ritual and dogma to animist invocations with a close study of the use of amulets in Pangasinan province on the central Luzon plain, a practice perhaps encouraged by the early Spanish missionary emphasis on miraculous conversions. Bandits and ritual curers "hold them [amulets] in great esteem; consider them true talismans, and it is very difficult, almost impossible for a European to obtain one of these little works." Zuñiga presented several captured from bandits and explained they were mixtures of Latin and Latin-sounding Filipino words written on slips of paper and always carried on their owners' person. One used to induce invulnerability to firearms read:³⁸

MISERERENOBIS ANIME

ORACION de NTRO SRO

JESU CHRISTO, CONTRA.

PADRE NTRO. Y AV.

+ JESU CHRISTE MAGISTER

A DOMINI BENEDEC

tus + JESU ORIS +

JESUS STOS EN MORTA

A contemporary manifestation of this process by which animism survives conversion was observed by an American Jesuit missionary who worked among the Bukidnon of north-central Mindanao during the 1960s. Conversion to Catholicism never produced a "confrontation" between animist and Christian faith in the minds of the Bukidnon who practice "an eclectic

syncretism — accepting and reinterpreting certain Catholic beliefs in an animist light, while ignoring the rest." Thus, the ordinary Bukidnon Catholic "tends to be basically an animist by religion, affiliated with the Catholic Church to the extent that he has taken from the Church and adapted to his own way of thinking certain beliefs and ceremonies." While mass, confession and dogma are of almost no interest to Bukidnon laymen, Catholic ritual regalia are used extensively in traditional animist ritual.³⁹

Like its counterparts elsewhere in the region, Philippine animism was strongly influenced by Indian religion. In a study of Indian influences in his nation's language and literature a Filipino academic, Dr. Juan Francisco, recorded some 336 words of probable Sanskrit origin currently in use among the archipelago's numerous linguistic groups. Although the number of Sanskrit words is not terribly impressive, most describe key religious and political concepts — naga and garuda, sawa or python, diwata meaning spirits from the Sanskrit devata, and Bathala meaning supreme deity from the Sanskrit bhattara or noble lord. In his analysis of the myths of both majority and minority culture groups Dr. Francisco identified common motifs which he felt to be of Indian origin. Francisco concluded that: "Hindu systems of thought have considerably influenced the operations of the Filipino mind and conscience. The predominance of Indian loan-words in religion suggests that Filipino languages were lacking in key religious concepts and, in other cases, the words in Filipino languages were supplanted by Sanskrit."⁴⁰

The emphasis on Indian origins of certain Filipino cultural traits is no longer seriously debated, and the only remaining questions of import remain the means, uniformity, and consequences of their introduction. While there has been considerable debate over the means by which Indian influences may have reached the Philippines, there has been almost no analysis of their impact on the archipelago's political and religious culture. Influenced strongly by both animist and Catholic traditions, the Western Visayas region in the central Philippines is an appropriate area for the study of this problem.

Unlike many of the unsubjected peoples of Mindanao or the marginal areas of the Eastern Visayas, the inhabitants of the Western Visayas region, comprising the islands of Panay and Negros, were the object of a concerted evangelisation by Spanish missionaries for the better part of four centuries. Despite the relatively strong missionary effort, pre-Hispanic paganism survived into mid 1970s with its hierarchy, cosmology, and major ritual practice largely intact. Judged from an institutional perspective, however, the Catholic mission effort would have to be considered a success. Beginning with a small Augustinian contingent and a single mission on Panay Island in 1569, the Catholic church grew to 16 missionaries and 30,000 baptized in 1591; 27 parishes and 49 priests in 1739; and 83 parishes, 68 priests, and 715,160 "souls" in 1865.⁴¹ By 1831 the Catholic church in the Western Visayas had grown to such proportions that the Bishop of Cebu felt his administrative resources strained and petitioned the Spanish court for the establishment of a separate diocese embracing the islands of Negros and Panay. Rome granted the decree in 1865 and two years later Fr. Mariano Cuartero, O.P. was installed as Bishop of Jaro. He began a dynamic ministry of sixteen years duration which saw the establishment of the seminary, the construction of a great number of permanent church structures, and the publication of an impressive list of religious texts in the local Ilongo language.⁴²

Despite three full centuries of Spanish missionary effort, the Archdiocese of Jaro was still one of the main centres of Philippine animism at the time of its establishment in 1865. While the official ecclesiastical histories are largely hagiographic accounts of missionary successes, the more observant of the missionaries and colonials noted the persistence of animism throughout the Spanish colonial period. In 1582 a Spanish colonist, Miguel de Loarca, residing at Arevalo, today a suburb of Iloilo City, described the local animist ritual in a manner that makes it seem quite similar to contemporary practices:⁴³

Baylanas. The natives of these islands have neither time nor place set apart for the

offering of prayers and sacrifices to their gods. It is only in case of sickness, and in times of seed-sowing or of war, that sacrifices are offered. These sacrifices are called baylanes, and priestesses, or the men who perform this office, are also called baylanes...The priestess chants her songs and invokes the demon, who appears to her all glistening in gold. Then he enters her body and hurls her to the ground, foaming at the mouth as one possessed. In this state she declares whether the sick person is to recover or not...Then she rises and taking a spear, she pierces the heart of the hog. They dress it and prepare a dish for the demons. Upon an altar erected there, they place the dressed hog, rice, bananas, wine and all the other articles of food that they have brought.

The most comprehensive treatise on Visayan religion was written in 1668 by Francisco Ignaelo Alcina, S.J., a missionary to the eastern Visayas, and provides a far more detailed picture of spirit beliefs than the earlier accounts. Alcina was the first to observe a hierarchy in spiritual powers. While the Baliana priest passed through a period of madness and attained strong spiritual powers, the Tambalan remained a pharmacopia specialist who cured only through his knowledge of herbs. Both classes of priests were powerful allies in man's battles with a fearsome spirit world that included not only the moon-swallowing naga, but a host of frightening enemies — the Onglo, a black man of great stature who lived in the forests and was known to kidnap women and children; and the Ogima, a spirit with human form, hairy bodies, and a satyr-like appearance. Alcina describes large public religious gatherings, the pinnacle of the religion's ritual practice, which illustrate the integration of secular and religious social roles and the mobilizing potential of animism:⁴⁴

The most important Paganito [spirit ritual] and the most famous that I have found practiced by these Visayans in ancient times is one which they called Pagtigman. It

signifies a gathering of many. For there came together all, young and old, of every condition and sex. The place was where the Dato designated for them. For this occasion they slaughtered many pigs, both wild and domestic. Having roasted the meat and cooked what served as bread in great abundance so there would be enough for all, the Baliana offered it up. The method of making the offering, ... is for all their Divatas, in general without naming any particular one especially. They ask for its help and that they may have plentiful and good crops with an abundance to eat and drink as much as they were able, and danced and whirled about until they could do so no longer.

The survival of the Western Visayas' animist religion after three centuries of Catholic missionary work was confirmed by two Spanish accounts published in the late 19th century. In 1876 the Spanish missionary Fr. Mariano Cuartero, the diocese's first bishop and author of some 40 religious texts, published his Ang Magtotoon Sa Balay (subtitled, "An Explanation of All Christian Learning"), a lengthy, two-volume treatise which attempted to explain Catholic dogma in terms of the region's society and culture. Devoting four chapters to the problem of pagan influence, the Bishop emphasized time after time that there was a fundamental conflict between Catholic dogma and animist practice. In so doing he gives the impression of a vital pagan religion:⁴⁵

Vain Observances to Protect the Body

- Carrying on the body a book wrapped up in paper, sometimes words from the New Testament to protect oneself from being hit by gunshot, or wounded by a weapon, or to avoid misfortune when you are travelling.
- Not cutting down bobog trees, or other kinds of trees, since they say it must be avoided or one will suffer misfortune; and one should not even talk about cutting down those trees or "they" will make you sick...

- You should not laugh when you are in the forest or the baua [evil spirit] will inflict misfortune on you.
- Shouting and making noise during an earthquake so that, it is said, the quake will not get bigger or will not continue.

Similarly, a Spanish attorney with prolonged residence in the sugar districts of Negros Island published an account of the island's recent history in 1894. Although he had little new information on the spirits and ordinary propitiation rituals, Don Robustiano Echuaz's description of the region's supreme ceremony, the Mt. Balabago rain ritual, is the only known description of the animist religion's most important event. Similar in many respects to Fr. Alcina's 1668 account of religious assemblies in the islands of Samar and Leyte, the Western Visayan version was convened every seven years during Christian Holy Week observances. It was held near the peak of Mt. Balabago in the town of Tubungan on Panay's southern coast, a site marked by a spring and two trees considered sacred in the animist faith. Following elaborate ritual prescriptions, the participants constructed a hall of worship "using only the force of their hands, without any kind of tools, and timber from the mountains knocked to the ground by storm, weather, or accidental fire." The Balabago stream which flowed through the site was believed to run "always against its natural direction" (i.e. uphill), and have the power to carry the shouts and prayers of the ritual "through the seas and streams of the Philippines." Hence it was an ideal site for a ritual whose aim was to influence "the givers of water, sun, good and bad weather." Leading babaylan and active laymen from the entire region assembled to witness the ritual, and in 1874 it was believed about one thousand people were in attendance. Lasting two or three days, the ritual consisted of readings from a book described as "the size of a Spanish Dictionary, whose first five pages were printed and written in Latin, next a lithograph of Jesus Christ, and following Visayan readings in green, red, and black letters" by a Mayor-mayor babaylan dressed in a black tunic with red bands and headdress. The ceremony culminated in the sacrifice of seven

pigs by seven babaylan in an elaborate ritual involving a series of gestures and movements repeated seven times, the magical number used in animist practice in Malaya, Borneo and Mindanao.

Despite the use of Latin and Christ's image, the religion's leaders were fundamentally hostile towards the Spanish Catholic friars. On April 8, 1874 the local parish priest of Tubungan, the Spanish missionary Fr. Isidro Badrena, O.S.A., entered the sacred hall in the company of the local town mayor and several constabulary and spoke to "the famous bandit Dama, who was chief of Santon of the sect" explaining to them that the ritual was the devil's work. When the accidental discharge of a constabulary firearm startled the crowd, a babaylan named Ramos speared the priest through the heart, and armed spectators attacked his escort, killing two and wounding the rest. The chief medium Dama ordered the priest buried under the sacred tree. Although there were fears that the celebrants would attack the town, they apparently scattered to their villages. The executioner Ramos, described by Echauz as "the guardian of the two PRINTED books, the babaylan Vedas," eluded Spanish constabulary patrols but was later murdered in a quarrel with his nephew.⁴⁶

A further half century of Christian missionary work had little appreciable impact and animism remained a potent religious force in the mid-20th century. An Austrian missionary assigned to the town of Igaras, not far from Mt. Balabago, published a Visayan — English Dictionary in 1935 with some 18,000 entries, relevant selections of which comprise perhaps the most complete catalogue of the region's animist practices. (See appendix.) The lexicographer, Fr. John Kaufmann, noted 29 entries describing various apparitions, monsters, or spirits; nine terms for various types and grades of spirit medium; and 19 words describing the kinds of spells and magical powers practiced by the various types of medium.⁴⁷

Observations of animist ritual and interviews with a number of spirit mediums in two lowland municipalities in Iloilo's central plain in 1975-1976 gave strong indications that the contemporary faith, although losing its role as a dominant

influence on peasant political culture, had maintained its religious influence and preserved its key rituals. Summarizing babaylan descriptions of their theology and observing its practice yields a description of a contemporary faith similar in many respects to Spanish missionary accounts of Visayan peasant beliefs in the 16th to 19th centuries. Every part of the earth, sky, and sea is inhabited by a hierarchy of spirits with greater or lesser powers. While the more powerful are actively seeking to do men harm, the weaker have their own defined territories and will punish any mortal who disturbs their ambiance. The most powerful of all the Western Visayan spirits is the Bakunawa, the great naga snake who occupies the firmament and underworld, and controls nature's more violent disasters — typhoons by blowing out his mouth, eclipses by swallowing the moon, and earthquakes with the shake of his tail. Spirits of intermediary powers inhabit the sea, the strand, and the land, and most will only sicken the passer-by who disturbs their territories. Others, more actively malign, move about at night seeking to harm any unfortunate who crosses their path. Such creatures are found throughout the archipelago, but those in the Western Visayas include the Bululakaw, a crab who lives in the ground and leaps through the sky tracing a rainbow or shooting star; the Mantiw, a bearded, smoking giant who runs through the fields at night; and the Kama-Kama, a small spirit about the size of a dog with a somewhat human form who wears a large hat to cover his pointed head. The third major type of spirit is the Tamawo, an anthropomorphic spirit called "fairy" in Filipino-English, who is generally invisible to men but can appear as an extremely fair skinned human whose only distinguishing feature is his or her lack of a "nose canal." Although it is the most benign of all and often serves as the babaylan's guiding spirit, even a Tamawo will sicken or murder anyone who interferes with its home domain, usually large bobog or lunok trees, without making the appropriate ritual payment.

Any individual who wants to pacify an aroused spirit seeks a babaylan with appropriate powers to prescribe the correct blood sacrifice and perform the ritual which renders this "payment" acceptable. There is a multitude of specific rituals covering

every aspect of mortal contact with nature, but most seem to divide into those of prevention or cure. When a farmer does anything to alter the geomantic aspect of the land he is faced with a possible territorial conflict with a spirit and, since the spirit is invisible, seeks the assistance of a babaylan in avoiding possible misfortune. Similarly, if an individual or member of his family suddenly became ill without cause, a spirit is suspected to be the source of the problem and a babaylan is summoned to conduct a curative ritual. After consulting with his patient, the babaylan enters the trance state in which his guardian spirit whispers the name of the offended spirit into his ear. The babaylan can then call upon the malign force to accept an appropriate offering. If the spirit is not defined and appeased, it is assumed that the disease will become a fatal one.

The most important ritual in the religion is still the Mt. Balabago rain ceremony. As described by contemporary babaylan, mediums from throughout the Western Visayas gather at the sacred site in southern Iloilo Province to bring the monsoon rains in time for the approaching planting season with the ritual sacrifice of seven black pigs by seven babaylan. The murder of the Spanish missionary priest during the 1874 ceremony is still recalled with considerable detail a century later; and has added to the locale's mystique. The last known ceremony took place in 1976 and attracted several hundred mediums from as far away as Masbate Island and Negros Occidental. Almost all of the babaylan interviewed had attended several of these ceremonies during their careers.

Just as there is a gradation of power among spirits, there is a hierarchy of efficacy among babaylan. A low ranking healer, a sirujano, merely offers a physical cure, an herb or root, for a physical ailment; while an intermediary level practitioner, the lower ranking babaylan, usually has a spiritual cure for a physical ailment. Perhaps the key distinguishing feature is the babaylan's possession by a familiar spirit who remains at his side to guide him in his identification of the maligned spirit and helps negotiate the acceptance of the ritual offering. At the peak of the hierarchy

in times past was a small group of mediums with exceptional powers who were known as dalagangan (root word: dagan, fire-red or prominent) and had the power to command the elements. When a dalagangan drove his spear into the ground with the correct magical oracion, a mixture of Latin and Latin-sounding Visayan words, water would spurt forth. The most powerful had the powers, described in Fr. Kaufmann's Visayan-English Dictionary, to fly through the air, disappear, call forth natural disasters, and grant immunity from weapons in combat. Many of these powers were also shared by high babaylan, and degree seems to be the distinguishing feature in determining status. An ordinary babaylan, for example, can divine underground water for a well, but only a dalagangan can make it spurt forth from the ground or make the waters rise up. While the Mt. Balabago ceremony itself has survived, the dalagangan, who traditionally read from the sacred texts and officiated, have apparently disappeared. Their spiritual heirs have evidently not achieved their level of powers.

If the most powerful mediums are extinct, babaylan are still regarded with considerable respect and maintain much of their calling's traditions. Most ranking babaylan still possess small books of ritual Latin prayers (oracion), inherited from their fathers and grandfathers, and valued for their arcane ritual information and intrinsic magical power. One copied in 1975 at a remote mountain village in the town of Leon, Iloilo Province, was the property of a deceased babaylan, Valentin Cabaya (1900-1968). He "always carried the libretto with him wherever he went since he believed it had the power of an anting-anting and would prevent him from being harmed." Among the still legible prayers in the small, bond paper notebook were:

Oracion Against Guns

impenit to-ing pecabit
midira adiom calison sa
pitong cayo magat cros.

Oracion To Become Invisible

Omdit adver pasion deslumlo

cribano esadoro bigwa libit
namon bigar cielegit
ecugnoce muerte olite at
quallo libat actum amen.

An active babaylan, Conrado Santiago of Bo. Balud, Leon, whom I met at a ritual in the mountains of Iloilo Province in 1975, provided me with an older libretto which he had inherited from his father in 1933. The elder Santiago had in turn inherited it from his father-in-law, a dalagangan practicing in neighbouring Antique Province. While babaylan Cabaya's oracion were specific to a particular magical act, Santiago's were effective for a number of magical powers:

Oracion

Therefore in evidence of the command of our Lord Jesus Christ in His Testament that our faith should be strong this has the power that arms will not come close to us or wound us, crocodile and lightening will not come close, married couples will not fight, we will not become sick, and souls will escape from purgatory.

Ec pultasum Federa....

es dimo aco
pag bulagus
tub tub sa acon
nga icamatay
imo aco panga
muyo sa imo
Anac con Jesu
Christo jiho de
Dios vibo Sal
vador del mundo

Senor Jesu Christo
Magester +
Jesus Donies +
Jesus Benedec
tos + Jesus ma
nuel + tibieren
tes + adories
Davit Jesus ta
biles.

The four Cabaya Oracion quoted above and the late 18th century Pangasinan libretto reproduced by Fr. Zuniga are proximate mixtures of Latin and Latin-sounding vernacular, indicating that belief in the use of the anting-anting form of amulet prevalent in the 16th to 19th centuries had survived to the 20th.

An ordinary rural resident functioning within this cosmic system attempts to achieve a correspondence between the power of the spirit he is confronting and the efficacy of the medium he seeks out. Moreover, the seriousness of the ritual is usually matched by the expense of the sacrifice: the owner of a small bamboo house will be required to offer several chickens; the resident of a large stone or cement house will offer at least one pig; and the proprietor of a large centrifugal sugar factory is believed to sacrifice a Negrito child or adult by grinding him up alive in the mill's running rollers.

While the babaylan enters into a trance, confronts spirits, and conducts rituals, his clients appear little more than passive spectators. The patient and his household maintain an attitude that seems casually unconcerned with the proceedings and understand very little of the ritual chants, which include a great deal of so-called Latin. The participants simply pay the babaylan for his services, provide the offerings he requests, and enjoy a meal at the ritual's end.⁴⁸

In the latter half of the 20th century, therefore, Visayan animism had not merely survived as some atavistic curiosity, but in fact remained the dominant spiritual force in the Western Visayas. The term "folk Catholicism" has been used to describe this syncretism, but it is not altogether accurate if by "folk Catholicism" one means the survival of pagan influences in a rural Catholic faith. In the Western Visayas the reverse is true — a few Catholic practices such as Latin invocations, saints' images, and medallions have been incorporated into a pagan religion that remains the dominant religious experience of the region's peasantry. While it is no doubt true that elements of the animist faith have survived in various forms throughout the Philippines, it would seem that the continued vitality of the complete religion as a coherent whole, exemplified in the Mt. Balabago rain ritual, is somewhat exceptional among the main lowland Filipino ethnolinguistic groups.

It is considerably easier to make such an observation than it is to find a convincing explanation.

A tentative hypothesis, however, might suggest that the Spanish colonial church was an ineffective vehicle for profound spiritual conversions to Catholicism. The internalization of a strong popular Christianity had to rely on less formal religious influences. In the Tagalog region, Reynaldo Ileto has shown that the publication of a popular vernacular text in the 18th century and the annual performance of the Christian passion play during Holy Week encouraged individual internalization of the Catholic faith. In the Cebuano region of the Central Visayas, popular belief in the powers of the Sto. Nino Christ image, housed in the Augustinian church of Cebu City, may have performed a similar function. In the Western Visayas, however, the passion play was not translated into the local vernacular until 1885 and has never been widely performed during Holy Week. Similarly, a saint's cult with the popularity of the Sto. Nino shrine or others in Luzon simply never developed. Lacking any strong Christian cults to counter the popularity of local animist worship and shrines, pagan rituals were never seriously challenged as the main focus of peasant religion in the Western Visayas.⁴⁹

Animism and Visayan Peasant Revolts

The failure to consider the influence of Visayan animism on the region's peasant political culture has produced considerable misunderstanding of the nature and aims of Philippine rural revolts. By focusing on exotic Christian or pagan ritual and paraphernalia, it is possible to confuse the religious form of the revolts with their largely secular substance, thereby dismissing them as simple millennialism. The confluence of the religious and secular in traditional Visayan society produced a political culture characterized by three main traits: (1) a spiritually impregnated world view which saw both political and natural power in magical terms; (2) a lack of rigidly defined boundaries between the religious realm of the babaylan and the political work of the datu which allowed these two types of spiritually endowed leaders to assume the role of either one or both; and (3) the importance of

peasant political values of fear and avoidance, derived from animist belief in the magical and arbitrary nature of all power, natural and political. The continuing influences of animist concepts was perhaps a barrier to the long term development of a more modern political consciousness. It did, however, provide an effective set of symbols and recognizable pattern of charismatic leadership in the mobilization of the region's peasantry for either secular or religious purposes. Influenced by traditional religious beliefs, the Visayan peasantry remained ready to accept the leadership of magically powerful babaylan or datu at certain times of major social and political crisis.

While Christianity did not influence Visayan religious values in most of the islands, the Spanish missionaries were successful in eliminating the traditional political elite, the datu, and replacing them with a subdued municipal leadership who were pliant agents of the colonial administration. The Spanish parish priests served as the district officers for the civil administration, and the Visayan town and village officials were their agents for the collection of taxes and impressment of corvée labor. With the loss of the magical datu political elite in almost all areas of the Visayas, traditional society was, in effect, politically decapitated. The babaylan thus remained the peasantry's only potential focus for mobilization. A complete Catholic theology and modern European political ideals were not introduced to the colony until the late 19th century, and even then only to a small urban elite. Lacking an alternative political ideology or set of symbols to deal with pressing secular problems, the region's peasantry made repeated use of its animist traditions in revolts against both Spanish and American colonial regimes. In contrast to the traditional religious babaylan who were predominantly women, all of the babaylan revolt leaders were male, indicating that these movements may have recreated the magical datu war leader from elements of a once coherent magical world view.

In leading peasant revolts from the 17th to 19th centuries the babaylan brought certain tangible skills to the service of their followers. Perhaps most importantly, a high-ranking babaylan was an established leader with a wide reputation gained in

travelling from village to village healing his fellow man. Unlike the colonized municipal and village political leaders, his authority was in no way tainted through compromised associations with an alien power. His magical powers enabled him to grant his followers immunity from enemy weapons and, simultaneously, to threaten all who failed to follow him with spiritual retribution in the form of disease, death and natural disaster. In addition to providing a basic revolutionary weaponry in the form of amulets, invocations, and ritual, the animist faith provided the basis for an ideological opposition to Hispanic Catholicism.

Although much of the literature on Filipino response to Spanish rule speaks of continuous recurrence of peasant revolts, their occurrence can be generally grouped into two distinct periods — the mid-17th and the late 19th centuries. In both periods the cause of unrest seems to lie with intensified Spanish demands on Filipino society. Pressed by constant naval warfare with the Dutch during the first half of the 17th century, the Spanish regime made considerable demands on Filipino villages for the food, goods, and labour to sustain a warfare state. The end of wars against the Dutch produced a stabilization of colonial pressures on Filipino society until the late 19th century when rapid development of export agriculture produced new burdens on peasantry. Almost all of the Visayan revolts during the colonial era were led by babaylan or men believed to have strong magical powers, involved a mass withdrawal of population from the settled lowland villages under Spanish control to remote mountain areas, and usually experienced a transitory period of success of varying duration followed by eventual reduction of the rebels' mountain retreats.

In the Western Visayas region, the most revealing revolts occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During the four decades following 1860 the western coastal plain of Negros Island became one of the major foci for commercialized agriculture in the archipelago. A number of Anglo-American merchant houses based at Iloilo City, the region's major urban entrepot, provided capital and market incentive for sugar planters, largely members of the native elite, to clear substantial haciendas out of the island's unpopulated forests and plains.

Although actual plantation development was located in relatively limited areas of Negros and Panay islands, the rapid growth of sugar exports had far-reaching consequences for all aspects of Visayan society. Generally located on agricultural lands of marginal productivity, many western Panay households began to migrate to the western coast of Negros where they eventually became debt-bonded labor on the province's sugar plantations. Engaged in a labor intensive crop in a labor-deficit area, the Negros planters used a wide variety of tactics to secure and maintain a stable labor force on their sugar haciendas — forced confiscation of small, untitled farms; usurious crop loans to small freeholders with clauses requiring perpetual plantation work service in case of default; and the maintenance of plantation security forces to prevent flight. Contracts signed between laborers and planters during the 1870s, for example, required unlimited terms of service at fixed wages until the debt and interest were repaid, not only for the debtor but also for his wife and children. Such debts were listed in the plantation's assets along with cattle and machinery, and could be transferred through direct sale or used as security for crop loans.⁵⁰ To maintain discipline among debt-bonded field hands with no incentive to work, the planters practiced whipping as punishment for minor infractions, and relied on the support of the Spanish Guardia Civil to reduce the number of fleeing workers. A U.S. Constabulary officer who served in Negros at the turn of the century compared local plantation conditions to those of "our own South before the war, when slavery fostered brutality." And he noted that a plantation foreman carried "a stout club made of the heaviest and hardest wood found in the islands" and used it without effective legal prohibition to inflict injury or death on offending workers.⁵¹

Regardless of locale, all of the region's revolts during this period were led by magically powerful men who demonstrated considerable, if varying, degrees of secular rationality in the aims and tactics of their movements. Originating in the southeastern corner of Negros Island in an area adjacent to the Bias-Tanjay sugar districts, the earliest of the major revolts (1887-1890) was led by a babaylan figure whose ideology combined traditional magic,

syncretic Christian elements, and a rational withdrawal from Spanish colonial rule. For reasons not fully explained, a swidden farmer named Ponciano Elofre, popularly known as Buhawi ("waterspout" or "God of the Four Winds"), began to draw "great numbers of people from all the towns along the coast" to an independent mountain community. There they organized their own local government and refused to pay colonial taxes. A reputed homosexual and traditional "miraculous curer," two, often complementary attributes, Buhawi was believed to possess a wide range of dalagangan magical powers — command of fire, flood, and rain; invulnerability to Spanish bullets; and the power to change shape and fly with a magic handkerchief. In a manner typical of animist fear-based sanctions, Buhawi preserved discipline and attracted followers by threatening recalcitrants with death in a "flood of fire" he would visit upon their communities. Despite a strong popular following, Buhawi was killed by the Spanish Guardia Civil in an attack on the town of Siaton in August 1887. Subsequent attempts by his relatives to revive the movement in the following months were crushed by Spanish operations with little apparent difficulty.⁵²

The region's next major revolt was the Gregorio "Dios" uprising of 1888-1891 which developed in the mountains of southern Panay not far from the sacred animist site on Mt. Balabago. A native of San Remigio, Antique Province in western Panay, and a man believed to have dalagangan powers, Gregorio "Dios" collected over 1,000 followers from the mountain municipalities and launched an attack on the provincial capital of Antique. Local forces were inadequate for its defense, and the Governor-General dispatched two companies of Guardia Civil, Gregorio withdrew to the mountains of Tubungan and managed to elude the Spanish troops until they were eventually withdrawn. In 1891, however, the Spanish missionary priest of Tubungan, with the assistance of a local constabulary detachment, managed to capture Gregorio's wife. Later, Gregorio and his followers were slaughtered during a night raid when they attacked the municipal building in an attempt to free her.⁵³

These two revolts of the 1880's represent a link between the animist-inspired movements of earlier centuries and the more developed consciousness of the region's peasant movements during the revolutionary era (1896-1902). The three peasant movements that emerged during the revolution were, by comparison, better organized and exhibited a greater degree of national and class consciousness. Despite their

identification with the national revolution developing in Luzon, all three movements drew much of their organizational strength and symbolism from the region's traditional religious concepts.

The Panay revolt began in October 1896, less than two months after the Luzon uprising, when a well-known religious leader began calling peasants from the town of San Joaquin, Iloilo Province, to gather in the mountains not far from Mt. Balabago. Before the revolt could materialize, however, mounted Spanish volunteers from Iloilo City guided by the town's Spanish priest, raided their camp, captured a number of the large crowd that had gathered, and scattered the remainder. Interrogation of the prisoners revealed a movement that combined nationalist aspirations with animist ritual practice. The gathering had been sacrificing pigs and chickens in preparation for an attack on the provincial capital of Antique with the aim of killing the Spaniards and releasing the imprisoned followers of Gregorio "Dios." Following the attack they planned to seize a steam vessel at Culasi, Antique, and sail to Cavite Province south of Manila. There they would join the revolutionary army and equip themselves with the firearms which they believed were being issued by the German government to the Filipinos.⁵⁴

While the abortive San Joaquin uprising derived much of its inspiration from the babaylan religion, the pulajan movement of central Panay seems to have been based on a localized folk Christianity. In the early 1870's a Catholic "native priest" from the islands to the north of Panay, Fr. Juan Perfecto, began an unauthorized ministry to the villages of the island's central uplands.⁵⁵ An American Baptist missionary later spoke with many of Fr. Juan's followers and wrote of him:

After spending several years in a monastery he was designated at his own request to do missionary work among the peasants and mountain people of the interior of Panay. He devoted all of his time to village work, teaching, and ministering to the sick and afflicted, and he soon gained a large following over whom he exerted almost unlimited influence. About 1870 his career came to a sudden end. He was arrested on some unrevealed charge, imprisoned for a few months and sent to Manila, and that was the last to be ever heard of him.

His followers ascribed miraculous curative powers to him, and recalled that he had rejected the Catholic Church and taught salvation through a direct reading of the Gospel. Most significantly for the history of the movement's later history, he preached that one day white preachers would come from across the seas with Bibles, replace the Spanish friars, and bring the Gospel to the people.⁵⁶

Fr. Juan's spiritual legacy manifested itself sometime in 1897 when a peasant leader, Hermenegildo Maraingan, began attacking towns in areas of southern Capiz Province to the north of Iloilo. As his movement, known as the pulajan, spread into the villages of central Iloilo, Maraingan attracted a number of influential secondary leaders, the most important of whom was a homosexual peasant, Gregorio Lampino, from the town of Janiuay, Iloilo. Believed to have dalagangan powers, most particularly the ability to fly and disappear, Lampino used babaylan sacrifices in rituals he supervised during the latter stages of the revolution.⁵⁷

In September 1898 Maraingan integrated his pulajan followers with those of an elite colonel in the Philippine revolutionary army.⁵⁸ Following the capture of Iloilo City from the Spanish in December, however, the newly-established elite government arrested him, disarmed his 900 followers, and forced them out of the city.⁵⁹ Understandably bitter towards the elite, pulajan bands began a campaign of looting and burning against the towns of central Iloilo in 1899. Perhaps influenced by Fr. Juan's prophecy that a new king of white men would bring the Bible, the pulajan identified with the U.S. Army after it landed on the island in January 1899. Ten months later they were seen cheering a U.S. Navy gunboat — "with cannon and rifle salvos, and all shouting Viva los Americanos" — as it shelled elite revolutionary positions in the Panay coastal town of Banate. While they avoided battle with regular revolutionary units, the pulajan, now led by Lampino, often attacked rural towns and villages, robbing and doing considerable damage to elite and peasant property. After the end of the revolution in Iloilo, the movement evidenced a continuing faith in Fr. Juan's prophecy by making a mass conversion to American Baptism. On June 14, 1901, a representative of the pulajan movement entered the Baptist mission headquarters at Iloilo City and presented a foreign missionary with a list of 7,989 "converts." Initially stunned by this unexpected windfall of souls, the Baptist mission accepted the overture, established missions in the mountain com-

munities where the pulajan movement was strong, and transformed it into the basis of one of the Philippines' major Protestant denominations. A number of the pulajan leaders became active Baptist lay workers. Gregorio Lampino, for example, took an active role in building the new church and establishing pulajan/Baptist communities in the mountains of central Panay.⁶⁰

A less organized form of peasant dissonance, banditry, was also of considerable concern to Spanish authorities during the early stages of the Philippine revolution on Panay. Spanish court records indicate a recurring incidence of organized bandit groups in central Iloilo during the late 19th century. But its coincidence with the revolution and the additional demands it placed on limited Spanish military resources gave banditry a more political quality after 1896. A number of Iloilo bandit leaders later allied with the elite revolution, but the most important of these were Oto and his son-in-law Sano. A Spanish mestizo from the upland municipality of Maasin, Iloilo, Oto had initially fled to the hills as a young man after a disagreement with a Spanish priest, and the Guardia Civil launched its first recorded operations against him in late 1896. With the exception of a brief alliance with the revolutionary army in 1899, Oto remained an outlaw in the hills of Maasin and the cordillera until 1917 when he finally surrendered to the provincial governor. For over two decades Oto managed to elude the military expeditions of three governments, a remarkable ability which his children attribute to magical powers he acquired after fleeing to the mountains. One night as Oto slept, a tamawo, or humanlike spirit, came to him in a vision telling him where to find a magical libretto (book) of oracion (chants) for special powers, and warning him to use them only to help his fellow Filipinos. Oto awoke to search for the magic libretto and found it under his pillow. Through it he acquired a wide range of powers which enabled him, for example, to walk backward up a mountainside so pursuers would track him in the opposite direction. Significantly, the tamawo vision is a common means for mediums to acquire powers and the libretto is a basic tool for all babaylan with any but minimal powers.⁶¹

The most formidable of the region's peasant revolts began near the slopes of Negros Island's single volcano, Mt. Canlaon (2,465 m.), in November 1896. The movement was led by Dionisio Sigobela, popularly known as "Papa Isio," a 50 year old plantation laborer

who had been born in San Joaquin, Iloilo but later migrated to the La Carlota sugar district at the base of the volcano. Evicted from a small Negros farm sometime after migrating, he became a laborer on a Spanish hacienda and later fled to the mountains after an attempt on the life of the proprietor.⁶²

Papa Isio's movement exhibited a fusion of traditional babaylan practice and nationalist aspirations similar in several respects to the abortive San Joaquin movement. Papa Isio himself carried a sacred bolo, used oracion to grant his followers immunity through amulets (anting-anting), believed in his own miraculous powers to escape capture, and conducted private religious services for followers in the mountains. His followers believed that he possessed the most awesome of dalagangan powers and could even defy death. It was, in fact, concern over the mass belief in Papa Isio's immortality and fear that his execution might spark a revival of the revolt that led the U.S. Governor General to commute his capital sentence in 1906.⁶³ The oracion seized at the time of Papa Isio's surrender in 1907 are very much of a traditional kind and showed that he had laid claim to the dalagangan's magic powers⁶⁴:

Oracion To Not Be Seen By The Enemy

Wue veri solat cruz me esquator mi.

The excitement generated by his surrender in 1907 produced a retrospective series of articles in the regional press. One correspondent wrote that Papa Isio was a member of the "babaylan" religious sect based in the Mt. Balabago area and had been "appointed 'Supreme Hierarch' in the mountains of Iloilo, moving later to Negros to establish his 'seat' in the steep mountains around Kanlaon." Another correspondent interviewed a peasant whose statement about Papa Isio reflects the movement's fusion of animism and nationalism⁶⁵:

Papa Isio is no sort of mortal man, and is nothing other than one of the elect, chosen by God to redeem the Filipino people from slavery. He is immortal, and cannot be hit or wounded by bullets, possessing a

supernatural power which you cannot believe if you have not seen it with your own eyes.

So that you will be convinced of his infinite power, let me simply say that he can fly through the air if he wishes and can communicate directly with God with whom he holds interesting dialogues in the presence of all his followers. All of us have seen his aerial vapors, seen God, radiant in his glory, and heard his heavenly words, on three occasions when Papa Isio called out the complete holy unction.

Despite his use of the traditional magical symbols, Papa Isio also demonstrated the most consistent and radical nationalist political ideology of any revolutionary leader in the Western Visayas. Arguing that their common blood made the Visayans a single people with an exclusive right to the lands and wealth of the islands, Papa Isio absolutely refused to tolerate any form of Spanish or American presence on the Island of Negros. Papa Isio's nationalist convictions fused with his awesome religious powers to make him an unrelenting guerilla leader who imposed slaughter on peasant communities which violated his orders and enormous destruction on the wealthy Visayan planters who later allied with the U.S. Army against him. In his assaults on the plantations Papa Isio enjoyed the support of his peasant followers, and much of this type of dissidence appears to have been spontaneous uprisings of the local plantation laborers.⁶⁶

After receiving reports that laborers were fleeing the plantations to join Papa Isio and his pagan montescos (highlanders), the Spanish Guardia Civil dispatched an exploratory patrol of only 19 men into the mountain spine of central Negros in January 1897. The Guardia Civil operations report conveys some sense of the movement's quality at this early stage of development:⁶⁷

After many difficulties in reaching the summit of the mountain we encountered a plateau where the Barrio of Lapnis was located and there in correct formation were over 1,000 men armed with spears and fighting bolos;

when they sighted us they initiated an enveloping movement in large groups, proof that they had some training, and when we saw their movement we gave shouts of 'Viva Espana'..., to which they answered with shouts of 'Viva Rizal', 'Viva Filipinas Libre', and 'Death to Spaniards.' After the shouts they tried to attack us on both flanks, vanguard, and rearguard, cutting off our retreat into the forest and fighting with an unusual bravery. Even as our abundant fire felled a great number of them, they were not dismayed and the place of the fallen was immediately taken by other combatants... This did not stop them from attacking me with greater fury, and with their savage fanaticism they came within 10 meters and less from the barrels of our guns.

The morale of Papa Isio's men exceeded their martial skills. Leaving some 40 dead on the battlefield after two hours of combat, they were forced to retreat into the mountains with "a great number of wounded."⁶⁸

Despite the reverses, Papa Isio and his followers maintained their control over the mountains of the Mt. Canlaon area for the next two years, and confined their operations to battles with the Guardia Civil. As the revolt continued, the Spanish clergy of Negros Occ. initiated a subscription drive among the planter community to purchase arms for the suppression of Papa Isio's movement. By early 1898 there was, therefore, a predictable symmetry of secular and spiritual allies. On the side of Spain and order were the planters, both Spanish and Visayan, guided by the temporal and spiritual powers of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church. And in the vanguard of the revolution were plantation laborers and pagan montescos inspired by the spiritual power of a largely traditional dalangangan religious figure, Papa Isio.

The latent class conflict between the planters and peasantry of Negros Occ. erupted into open warfare in November 1898 after the local revolutionary army, led by wealthy Visayan planters, captured

the provincial capital of Bacolod through an almost bloodless coup against the weakened Spanish garrison. Several weeks later, Gen. Juan Araneta, a wealthy planter and the most influential of the elite revolutionaries, moved to check any peasant insurgency through a comprehensive decree on plantation labor relations and a temporary alliance with Papa Isio.⁶⁹ The planters were apparently concerned about the possibility of a workers' uprising. On November 18th the local military commander of Isabela had warned that Papa Isio's band of 200 men was now campaigning in the area "with the not very healthy intention of proselytizing all the workers on all the plantations and barrios as well as obliging them to join him under threats of death..."⁷⁰

The tenuous alliance between Papa Isio and the Negros planter government collapsed in February 1899 when Gen. Araneta and his aides raised the American flag and invited U.S. Army troops into the province to protect their property from destruction.⁷¹ Two weeks later Papa Isio severed his ties with Gen. Araneta and resumed guerilla operations — this time directing his assaults at the Visayan planters whom he now considered traitors. From his camps on the heights of Mt. Canlaon and the neighboring mountains, often named "Calvario" or "Paraiso," Papa Isio encouraged a general uprising of plantation workers on the volcano's western slopes. Within weeks the prosperous La Carlota district was in turmoil and cane cultivation came to a halt: the towns were attacked and razed; some 56 plantations, mainly Visayan owned, were burned out in four months; and 12 Visayan planters were reported killed in the same period.⁷² What had begun as a peasant nationalist movement had now transformed itself into a class revolution consciously trying to overturn the existing economic and social system. The general, commanding U.S. troops sent to quell the uprising, described it in his July 1899 report:⁷³

The Babaylanes came down to the outlying haciendas and by specious representations that the lands would be repartitioned among the people, that machinery would no longer be permitted in the island, and that nothing but palay [rice] would henceforth be planted, succeeded in persuading the

ignorant laborers of about fifty haciendas to join them and to destroy by fire the places which had given them employment...

As fighting among planters and laborers intensified, Papa Isio invoked the "seven elements" to tell the planters that "all...who have received the grade of General [in the elite army] not one of them will escape death by sentence of court martial together with their wives, children, great grandchildren, relations, and followers."⁷⁴

Responding to an appeal from the planters at the base of Mt. Canlaon, the U.S. Army island commander assigned the bulk of his troops to the area to operate in conjunction with former elite revolutionary forces, now the U.S. native Negros Police.⁷⁵ Pressed by U.S. operations in the La Carlota-Isabela areas, Papa Isio's followers shifted to the north. On July 18, 1899 55 U.S. troops encountered 450 rebels in Maa, killing 115 and suffering only two casualties after "much fighting at close quarters with bayonets and clubbed guns."⁷⁶ A week later Papa Isio's forces launched an abortive attack on the provincial capital at Bacolod, but were met by several companies of the U.S. Sixth Infantry and lost 170 killed after a "fierce engagement."⁷⁷

With the exception of several minor offensives against the province's southern towns in 1901, 1905 and 1907, Papa Isio and his forces withdrew to the vast upland forest covering the southern quarter of the province. There he and his subordinates tried to establish a utopian community based on independent pagan villages and escaped plantation workers. Papa Isio imposed a rigidly comprehensive code for the organization of village governments and severe penalties for those who failed to provide recruits when ordered.⁷⁸ His administration of these villages was fundamentally theocratic in tone, invoking formal aspects of Christianity within a pattern of leadership that appears based on dalagangan role. In his decree of September 1901, for example, Papa Isio tried to establish a Christian religious basis for his political decisions, but claimed the power of direct communication with the Christian God just as the babaylan spoke directly with the diwata.⁷⁹

The object of the present is to publish the true justice of Heaven and the holy orders of God and for our justice we should be unanimous with this religion and we ought not to turn our backs or desert our Filipino flag given by our Lord Jesus Christ to the just of this land of tears, for which we ought, all of us Christians, endeavor to resist our enemies the Americans...

Significantly, Papa Isio tried to control his followers with the fear-based loyalty of the dalagangan. In December 1901, for example, as he was considering another assault on Bacolod, he ordered one of his commanders to initiate a general uprising and warn "in this circular that the towns which do not rise up in arms on the assigned day, will be reduced to ashes and all their inhabitants killed, men and women, children and the elderly."⁸⁰

After several years of relative passivity, Papa Isio mounted his last offensive in 1907. His followers razed a lowland village and burned out the town of Cabancalan, inflicting an estimated ₱ 100,00 worth of damage. Despite fears that his attacks meant a revival of widespread uprisings, Papa Isio instead surrendered in exchange for an opportunity to meet with the provincial governor and express his grievances. At the time of his surrender he had been leading an organized resistance for over a decade, and had thereby established the longest record of service of any commander in the history of the Philippine revolution.⁸¹

The Yntrencherado revolt of 1926 was the last of the region's peasant uprisings, and is an interesting synthesis of traditional and transitional beliefs. Its leader, Florencio Yntrencherado, was born of a Tagalog mother on Corregidor Island in Manila Bay in 1871 but moved to Iloilo City at age 12 where his father, a native of the province, worked as a carpenter and he was an apprentice to a Chinese shopkeeper. Judged severely paranoid at middle age and the victim of strong visions from youth, Yntrencherado gradually developed both a sense of great supernatural powers in the dalagangan tradition and an appealing ideology of nationalism and social reform. At age six he had his first vision. God and Fr. Burgos,

a nationalist martyr executed by the Spanish in 1872, supposedly approached him while he was playing. God said: "This child here is good. He (Burgos) will die, this (Yntrencherado) is the replacement." Through his visions Yntrencherado came to believe that he, like the dalagangan, could work through his "Spiritual Guide" to predict the future or cause natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and floods. During an interview with him in 1927, a Manila physician made the following note: "States he used to have a dagger always. That when he gets mad and saturated with the evils that are happening in the world, he sticks the dagger into the ground and something happens to those who make mistakes."⁸² The possession of magical weapon is common attribute of dalagangan power — Papa Isio had a magical bolo, while Buhawi had a dagger "that only he could withdraw from its scabbard."⁸³

Yntrencherado first announced his aspirations to political leadership in 1906 with a letter to the provincial governor of Iloilo. Describing himself as the "successor" to the nationalist movements of 1871 and 1898, he wrote: "...Flor Yntrencherado is easy and free to direct liberty, as says the imperialist league, because this Flor knows the good and evil of the world."⁸⁴ Several years later when Halley's Comet became visible, he used his powers to save the world: "...the world was already to be punished, but since I already knew all about that through enlightenment from God the Holy Spirit and worked and resisted it and have continued to resist it until the present all nations and all men have escaped from 'divine justice'. "⁸⁵ In 1921 Yntrencherado moved to Gigantes Island off the northeast coast of Panay where he worked as a fishsauc (ginamos) merchant and had another series of visions: "I went to Gigantes Island in 1921, and there put myself in a cave, that God will know about the flood." There he declared himself Emperor of the Philippines and wrote the first of a number of widely distributed pamphlets on the colony's social and political problems.⁸⁶

Within a year or two Yntrencherado moved to the town of Jaro, an Iloilo City suburb, where with the help of in-laws and relatives, many of whom were petty market traders, he quickly developed a mass following. According to newspaper accounts and

participant interviews, there were three major sources of his mass appeal: a deceptive twenty percent reduction in the burdensome head tax; a promise that followers would be rewarded with the lands of the rich after his empire was established; and threats that all those who failed to join his movement would be drowned in a tidal wave or burned in a "rain of fire" from Mt. Canlaon volcano. As his reputation grew, Yntrencherado, attired in a jewelled crown and elaborate brocade robes, received hundreds of peasants from Panay and Negros at his palace near the Jaro marketplace. While he sought to simply dazzle ordinary followers with his magical powers, he also held lengthy discussions with his officers over his complex plans for social reform. Leading cadre were granted titles which ranged from captain through general and count and his paid-up membership soon grew to an estimated 10,000.⁸⁷

The growth of the Yntrencherado movement coincided with a period of major social unrest in the Western Visayas induced by the rapid industrialization of the regions' sugar milling in the years during and immediately following World War I. The construction of some 17 modern factories to do the work of some 820 small steam and animal-driven mills had a direct impact on all aspects of the regional economy. Most importantly, these changes produced a strong impetus for unionization in the urban and industrial sectors of the economy. While working class brotherhoods and unions developed in the more modern areas of the economy, the peasantry turned to a familiar dalagangan for the last time in its history.

The revolt itself was the product of government harassment of the Yntrencherado movement and a particular set of coincidences. The movement first came to the government's attention as a tax protest, and naturally elicited a rather harsh reaction. In November 1925 Yntrencherado was arrested for carrying arms, and in the coming months a number of his followers were arrested by local police for their refusal to pay the head tax.⁸⁸ While appeals were continuing in mid-March 1927, however, Mt. Canlaon volcano, active only twice in the last century, suddenly began rumbling and smoking, forcing those living on its flanks to flee — just as Emperor Yntrencherado had predicted. There was a sudden influx of volunteers into his peasant army. When

Yntrencherado ordered a mass uprising on May 15th, two months after Mt. Canlaon had started smoking, the peasant turnout in areas near the volcano was overwhelming. While only 400-500 peasants from the whole of Iloilo Province marched to Jaro to defend the emperor's palace, several thousand marched in the town of La Carlota at the base of Mt. Canlaon. The statistics on both membership and violence show a disproportionate concentration in the volcano's general area — 4,906 of 14,275 members listed on the Emperor's tax rolls for Negros Occ. came from a cluster of municipalities of the base of volcano, while three out of the provinces' four major assaults occurred in this area as well.⁸⁹

Despite some unique features, the Yntrencherado movement exhibited a mass ideology similar to earlier rural movements. As with Papa Isio and antecedent dalagangan revolts, a large component of its support was derived not only from social unrest and mass aspirations for reform but also from a strong fear of the leader's power to punish non-participants with illness or death through magic. The behavior of certain crowds during the revolt itself indicates that the mass were testing the efficacy of Yntrencherado's magical powers. In La Carlota, at the base of Mt. Canlaon, volcanic activity apparently prompted several thousand field workers to obey the orders of the Emperor's captain, a plantation field foreman (cabo) named Esteban Ohao, and march on the town on the morning of the revolt. Wearing the Emperor's photograph pinned to the upturned brims of their hats as an anting-anting to make them invulnerable, the workers crowded onto the plaza opposite the town hall carrying bolos and spears. There they confronted a small band of municipal police at the base of the town hall's entry staircase. Standing back cautiously before the brandished pistols of the police, the crowd remained passive and let Captain Ohao and his two sons march alone up the staircase. After the police chief shot directly at Ohao and his pistol misfired, the crowd surged forward en masse. The police chief fled up the stairs and fell to his death when he tried to escape by leaping from a second story window. When regular Philippine Constabulary troopers arrived a few hours later, however, most of the crowd fled at the sight of their bayonets and those who remained surrendered without resistance.⁹⁰

While fear no doubt accounted for the support of the majority of the rebels, the more active and perceptive were attracted by the Emperor's radical social reforms. If the behavior of the crowd in La Carlota illustrates the fear dimension of his mass support, that in the adjacent plantation town of La Castellana highlights its more radical social reform elements. One of the most active centres of the movement in La Castellana was the Legua Communal area, a large tract of municipally owned sugarlands and the site of the few non-plantation villages in the town. Yntrencherado's local leader was Egmidio Dionela, a foreman on the municipal estates. After an interview with the Emperor in Jaro, Dionela returned with a uniform, medals, and commission to recruit members, but apparently emphasized the division of foreign owned sugar lands in his propaganda. The night of the revolt Dionela's followers joined with hacienda residents, cut the telephone lines, assaulted farmhouses in the area, and managed to arrest a Swiss and a Spaniard. The next morning the small band of some hundred rebels began marching the bound foreigners to the town center. "They were going to take the two to La Castellana where they would be sent back to their own countries, Switzerland and Spain," recalled one worker who witnessed the incident. "Then all the haciendas would be divided among the poor Filipinos. Dionela was telling people that if they could arrest all the Spaniards and send them home, Florencino Yntrencherado would become emperor and divide all the lands." Apparently these aspirations were not exclusive of the belief in magical sanction, for, this source continued: "Dionela also said that Mt. Canlaon was going to explode, rain fire, and darken the sky with its ashes. Only those who joined Yntrencherado would be able to save their lives." As they approached the town, the marchers were arrested by local police. Later in the day many rebels were summarily beaten on the town plaza and their leaders were sent to prison.⁹¹

The only recorded attempt at revival of Yntrencherado's movement occurred in a few villages located in San Joquin, Iloilo in 1938, but appears, as this affidavit taken at the time of arrest indicates, to have been a rather weak effort:⁹²

I, Carlos Sibonga, adult, married to Maria Saromines, and residing in Barrio Malbinga, municipality of San Joaquin, province of Iloilo, after having sworn do declare the following:

- (1) That, before now I was also one of the followers of Yntrencherado and now I am also one of those in the 'Union' formed by Blas Sesdoyro and Gregorio Rinon...
- (2) That upon urging from Blas and Gregorio I purchased a medallion for 30¢ which had the power of protecting the body;...and a flag with a red band; and I paid 50¢ for the flag;
- (3) That we were going to carry this flag in a parade of all those who belonged to the Union, on the 22nd of next month, from San Joaquin to Iloilo to meet out lords Yntrencherado and Rizal;
- (4) That when Rizal and Yntrencherado came here on January 1, Yntrencherado would call a meeting to announce that all land, wealth, animals, and cattle of the rich would be taken by the government;...

The San Joaquin members clearly recalled the ameliorative aspects of his appeal, but other followers continued to attribute natural disasters, such as a massive inland flood of the late 1930s, to his magical powers and continuing vegeance.⁹³ Similarly, the only attempt at revival of Papa Isio's movement after his surrender in 1907 was a minor uprising in the town of Isabela, adjacent to La Carlota, in June 1928 involving some 40 workers led by his former lieutenant. The revolt was put down within hours and the only major casualty was a policeman who later died of his wounds.⁹⁴ Both of these incidents illustrate one of the major limitations of mass leadership in the dalagangan tradition — the fear/charisma component which gives the movements their initial solidarity is bound up in the person of the magical leader, making it virtually impossible to sustain an organized insurgency once the leader is removed. Moreover, the overcentralization of authority in the person of the single leader weakened the quality of local leadership necessary to sustain a large mass movement. Led by magical dalangangan figures, the region's peasant organizations formed quickly,

fought bravely, and accepted discipline. But they often launched self-destructive attacks against superior positions and had little capacity to sustain themselves in any form once the leader was removed.

Comparison of the intensity of insurgent activity among Papa Isio's followers with those of Emperor Yntrencherado's provides some indication that the peasantry's faith in dalagangan powers had declined markedly in the two decades that separated them. Although the popularity of their parallel policies of plantation land distribution and national independence remained strong and both were credited with the possession of supernatural powers, the Emperor's followers were far more reticent about putting their faith into practice in the face of constabulary firearms. Still willing to march but not to fight, the Emperor's followers stayed with him for a day while those of Papa Isio were with him for almost a decade. The decline in the degree of acceptance of a traditional leadership cannot be attributed to the amelioration of social conditions, which in fact had continued to decline and create the basis for a modern labor and communist movement in the industrial and urban sectors of the region's economy. If social conditions had worsened and radical ideals had increased in currency, the weakness of Emperor Yntrencherado's uprising most probably lay in his reliance on the dalangangan magical mode of leadership. While it enabled him to build a mass following quickly through the use of established political symbols, his ultimate use of fear to mobilize the peasantry produced a mob of dubious commitment which scattered at the first sign of serious opposition.

Regional Comparison of Philippine Peasant Revolts

Comparison of modern peasant revolts in Mindanao, the Visayas, and the Tagalog region of central Luzon produces a spectrum of conceptual development ranging from an animist based millennialism to folk Christian aspirations inspired by a positive model of a utopian state. In Mindanao during the 20th century, increased contact with national governments, both colonial and republican, and growing external

economic pressures produced a cultural retreat into animist ritual and a continuous recurrence of millenarian revolts among minority groups which had previously had little contact with Spanish colonialism. Rather than striking at some tangible manifestation of the systems that were changing their lives, the various Mindanao movements have confined themselves to largely religious activities of a millennial character. In 1907-1908 the Tungud movement attracted a large following among several minority groups in southeastern Mindanao after an unknown Manobo minority group member named Mapakla recovered from a severe bout of cholera and announced that he had received a vision. Claiming to have spoken directly with a powerful deity identified with warfare, Mapakla appointed spirit mediums at the village level with instructions that all followers should destroy their animals, burn their standing crops, and prepare to be led to the afterworld. All those who refused to join him "were doomed to perish." The movement faded gradually of its own accord, and in the few localities where aggressive violence was contemplated the leaders were arrested by colonial authorities.⁹⁵ After three decades of relative quiescence a similar movement appeared among the Bukidnon minority in 1941. A local baylan "led about 1,000 Bukidnon from the upper Palangi River valley to the top of Mount Kimangkil, the highest peak in the area, in the belief that the mountain would open and they would all enter and live happily ever after." In 1968 another Bukidnon babaylan predicted the end of the world for August 28th and warned: "Only those would be safe who joined him at his camp in the forest, where a cliff was to open and where all would enter." One Jesuit missionary who analyzed the latter two movements attributed them to the traditional Bukidnon religious aspiration of achieving libung, "instant happy mortality."⁹⁶

Despite the similarity in animist symbols and belief in magically endowed leadership, the Mindanao and Visayan movements demonstrate markedly different aims and responses to social crisis. While the Mindanao babaylan responded to social changes by retreating into the millennium, Visayan insurgents used traditional leadership patterns to mobilize for an assault on a specific aspect of the social system deemed oppressive — the Catholic Church, Spanish planters, sugar plantations, and colonial constabulary — in an effort to establish a more just society.

Two of the more active areas of insurgency in the Visayan Islands were Samar in the east and the islands of Negros and Panay in the west, regions which also demonstrated some significant differences in the patterns of peasant uprisings. On the island of Samar there were three major uprisings in the modern period — 1884-1886, 1898-1906, and 1942-1947. All of these revolts had leaders in the babaylan tradition who responded to political and economic problems by directing their followers in campaigns against colonial troops or into the mountains to establish utopian communities. While it is difficult to draw a direct comparison, the relative lack of economic development in Samar in contrast with the rapid growth of the Negros sugar districts had meant a lower level of social dislocation on Samar and provided fewer tangible objectives for assault. Consequently, the Papa Isio movement seems to have had a far more strongly articulated ideology of class warfare. Comparing the later Yntrencherado uprising with Samar's World War II pulajan, it would appear that the Emperor's followers were actively trying to overturn a social system, while the Samarenos were less specific. They simply retreated into the mountains during the war and launched an indiscriminate campaign of mass slaughter of all non-pulajan in the immediate post-war period.⁹⁷

Moving further along on this spectrum of conceptual development, there seems to be a still more fundamental distinction between the values of Visayan and Tagalog social movements in the modern period. While the authority of a Visayan peasant leader remained based in the negative fear/respect that his followers had for his supernatural powers, the Tagalog movements were animated by the positive, folk-Christian vision of a just kingdom come to Central Luzon. Although an aggrieved subject of a harsh colonial state and aspiring for radical changes in the conditions of his life, the Visayan dissident still believed in his leader's awesome magical powers and joined a movement not only to seek change but to avoid the harm that would befall him if he defied the leader's call — just as he consulted a babaylan when building a house to avoid the evil broadcast from the mouth of the Bakunawa. A Visayan peasant movement could grow rapidly, but tended to collapse utterly once its omnipotent leader was captured or killed.

Judging from the writings of Fr. Zuniga on animist practice in Luzon during the late 18th century, it appears the basic religious practice of the Tagalog area and the Western Visayas was generally parallel and traditional spiritual worship was still the dominant faith. According to Iletto's account, the annual dramatic presentation of the death of Jesus Christ in the towns of the Tagalog region during Holy Week from the early 18th century onwards nurtured a popular, "folk Christian" vision of an ideal social order. Animated by this conception of a perfectable universe, Tagalog peasants rebelled against the colonial regimes in the 1840s, 1870s, and 1896-1907 in an attempt to drive out the foreigner and establish Christ's kingdom on this earth. It was the kingdom of Christ come to central Luzon.⁹⁸ In contrast, peasant religion in the Western Visayas remained based on a fundamentally animist, pre-Hispanic conceptual system.

The persistence of animist influence in Visayan political culture has stunted its ideological growth in comparison with the steady, continuous development of a social consciousness among the Tagalog peasantry building on a century of folk Christian traditions. Motivated by a positive vision of a perfectable universe, individual commitment among Tagalog insurgents was likely to be greater, and movements based on their ideals continue to develop long after the death of a leader. The modern Tagalog insurgent was actively attempting to realize his own personal vision of a just society, while the Visayan was seeking, at least in part, to avoid the divine vengeance that would be his fate if he failed to obey a powerful dalagangan figure. Judging from the courage of Papa Isio's troops and the timidity of Emperor Yntrencherado's marchers, the popular currency of an animist-based leadership had weakened and Visayan peasants had grown markedly less assertive during the intervening two decades. The Tagalog peasantry, in contrast, showed a continuous development in its political consciousness from the 19th century folk Christian revolts through the armed communist-led insurgency of the 1940s. A reading of the social history of the Western Visayas indicates long periods of political quiescence punctuated by occasional violent upheavals, while that of the Tagalog region reveals a continuous ferment

of organizational activity accented by periodic peasant uprisings.

Some evidence for this thesis is provided by the relative success of Communist-led peasant revolts in Central Luzon and Iloilo Province after World War II. These two regions shared similar economies of commercialized rice-sugar agriculture and parallel tenancy problems, but Communist guerillas failed to develop the same popular acceptance in Iloilo that they did in central Luzon. By the late 1940s, when the Manila Politburo ordered a full scale armed revolt in the Western Visayas, two decades of party work had produced only a handful of local followers. The Iloilo branch managed to organize three combat companies totalling 600 peasant recruits. Their guerilla operations lasted some four years until the Philippine Army despatched sufficient combat forces to break the movement. During these four years the Iloilo HMB, or People's Liberation Army, achieved few successes and won little more than the tolerance of the local peasantry.⁹⁹

While there are a number of factors in the failure of the HMB's Visayan expansion effort, the differences between Tagalog and Visayan concepts of individual participation in the quest for a just social order cannot be disregarded. The minutes of HBM staff meetings in Iloilo reveal that the party cadre, including several Tagalogs from Luzon, were concerned over the lack of support they were receiving from villages. In September 1950, after three years of insurgency, HMB mass support groups had only 2,091 members out of a provincial population of 816,382, and many peasants had fled to secure areas to avoid contact with the HMB. Contributions of food, finance, and recruits were generally not offered voluntarily and often had to be coerced.¹⁰⁰ Given the lack of popular vision of a perfectable universe or a tradition of positively oriented religious activity, the Visayan peasant had little conceptual basis for a positive response to the HMB call for a new social order. His traditional pagan religion taught avoidance of harm, not sacrifice for an ideal, and that seems to have governed his response to the HMB. Small sectors of the peasantry with specific grievances had a particular local history which gave them a more positive orientation to social reform movements, but the mass was not yet

ready. The peasants of Iloilo had lost faith in the political efficacy of the traditional animist concepts and dalagangan leadership, but had not yet internalized an alternative ideology based on a modern set of values which could mobilize them as effectively as the ancient beliefs.

The survival until World War II of Western Visayas' animism in both its secular and religious manifestations is an anomaly which does not fit readily into a spectrum of Philippine conceptual development. Mindanao pagans, unsubjugated by the Spanish, and still living in a barter economy, practiced an unadulterated animism and responded to the pressures of 20th century change with millennialism. On Samar Island in the Eastern Visayas a marginal peasantry resident in a slowly developing backwater with several centuries of continuous Spanish missionary work produced peasant leaders in a dalagangan mold who launched poorly conceived assaults on authority or retreated into utopian communities. In Negros Occ., the most heavily developed area in the 19th century Philippines, peasants launched more coherent and prolonged assaults on the colonial system but still relied on magical dalagangan leaders. While in central Luzon, with a level of economic growth similar to that of Negros, the introduction of the Christian mission play muted traditional animist influence and created the basis for a positive political culture. Culture and circumstance, therefore, working somewhat independently of major structural changes in polity and economy, introduced a new political paradigm to the Tagalog region and preserved the older forms in the Western Visayas, with significant consequences for the social history of both regions.

Conclusion

Indianization and the animist religion it influenced had profound and lasting consequences on the development of Philippine political culture. If one can judge from the similarities of house construction and naga-propitiation between Philippines and other Southeast Asian cultures it would appear that Indian influence has remained a potent force among peasants throughout the region until the

present. One should ask then if animist religion has had the same influence on peasant political concepts in other areas of the region as it has had in the Western Visayas. Assuming a similar configuration of Indian influence on animist faiths, it might be asked whether the Visayan political patterns of fear and avoidance are to be found elsewhere or have been displaced by a set of more positive values springing from the influence of the great religions. Such an analysis of the balance of negative and positive values in particular cultural contexts, taken in concert with specific socio-economic conditions, might serve as the starting point for comparative interpretations of the response of Southeast Asia's peasantry to a changing world.

NOTES

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22. Fr. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion, Diccionario Visaya-Espanol (Manila: Tipografia de "Amigos del Pais," 1885), p. 25; Fr. John Kaufmann, Visayan-English Dictionary (Iloilo: La Editorial, 1935), p. 81.

23. Francisco, op. cit., pp. 12-13. Sawa-nagara is also of the term used for the naga or Nias Island off western Sumatra, Suzuki, op. cit., p. 20. The meaning of Bakunawa as "bent snake" was suggested by the linguist Dr. David Zorc (letter dated 16 May 1978), a specialist on the languages of Panay Island. Given the Bakunawa's usual depiction with the looped tail, the supposition seems a logical one. Both Zorc and Dr. Harold Conklin of Yale University concur that the word is not derived directly from the Sanskrit naga (letter dated 17 May 1978).

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the reader to use its calendar from the front as a Catholic concerned with the Pope and saints' days or to read back-to-front to gratify traditional animist concerns by consulting the Bakunawa calendar in the malign/fortuitous terms his movements determined — a single pamphlet used in different ways by Catholics, animists, or those with bi-religious concerns. (Almanaque o Calendario Sang Libreria Panayana Sa Tuig Nga Bisiesto 1896) [Nueva Caceres: Sagrada Familia, 1895]; Almanaque o Calendario Sang Libreria Panayana Sa Tuig Nga 1898 [Manila: Tipo-Lithografia de Chofre y Comp., 1897]; Almanaque Con Calendario Nga Panayanhon Sa Tuig Nga 1910 [Mandurriao: Imprenta la Panayana, 1909] pp. 37-41; Almanaque Nga "Panayanhon" Sa Tuig Nga 1913 [Mandurriao: Imprenta Liberia Panayana, 1912], pp. 35, 43-44; Almanaque Nga "Panayanhon" Con Calendario Sa Tuig Nga 1916 [Mandurriao: La Panayana, 1915]; Almanaque Ukon Kalendario nga Binisaya Sang Libreria La Panayana Sa Tuig Sang Ginuo 1950 [Iloilo City: La Panayana, 1949]; Almanaque Panayanhon 1977 [Iloilo City: La Panayana, 1976].)

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40. Francisco, op. cit., pp. 4-5, 11, 12-13, 32, 254-256; Juan R. Francisco, "Reflections on Migration Theory vis-a-vis the Coming of Indian Influences in the Philippines," Asian Studies 9, No. 3 (Dec. 1971), pp. 307-314; Robert B. Fox, "A Consideration of Theories Concerning Possible Affiliations of Mindanao Cultures with Borneo, the Celebes, and Other Regions of the Philippines," Philippines Sociological Review 5, No. 1 (Jan. 1957), pp. 2-12.

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300; Vol. 9, pp. 102-103; Vol. 47, pp. 147-159; Guia de Forasteros en Filipinas 1860 (Manila: Amigos del Pais, 1859), pp. 236-249.

42. Archdiocese of Jaro, Canonical Erection: Installation of the First Metropolitan Bishop (Jaro, Iloilo City: Veritas Press, 1951), pp. 37-48.

43. Blair & Robertson, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 131-135.

44. Alcina, op. cit., pp. 179-323.

45. Fr. Mariano Cuatero & Lorenzo Flores, Presbitero, Ang Magtotoon Sa Balay Con Casayoran Ang Bug-us Pagtolon-an Nga Christianos, Nga Naathag Cag Natahum Sa Tuman Ca Damu Nga Mga Suguid Sa Santos Nga Sulat Cag Sa Historia Sa Nahatungud Sa Santa Iglesia, II (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1876), pp. 135-178. The above quote is compiled from the longer text cited and is in places a direct translation and in others a heavily edited summary. The circuitous logic, frequent repetition and use of examples made it difficult to quote directly and made editing necessary.

46. R. Echauz, Apuntes de la Isla de Negros (Manila: Tipo-Lithografia de Chofre, 1894), pp. 137-144.

47. Jose G. Paramos, Tubungan: Paginas Historicas (Iloilo: La Editorial, 1938), pp. 16-23; Echauz, loc. cit.; Fr. John Kaufmann, M.H.M., Visayan-English Dictionary (Kapulungan Binisaya-Iniglis) (Iloilo City: La Editorial, ca. 1935); "Historical Facts About the District of Jaro, Iloilo City," in, Iloilo City Schools, Historical Data of Iloilo (Manila, National Library, 1953), pp. 16-18; Timoteo S. Oracion, "The Bais Forest Preserve Negritos: Some Notes on Their Rituals and Ceremonials," in Mario D. Zamora, ed., Studies in Philippine Anthropology (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix, 1967), pp. 419-442; Rahmann & Maceda, op. cit., pp. 864-876; F. Landa Jocano, The Epic of Labaw Donggon (Quezon City: Univ. of the Philippines, 1965); F. Landa Jocano, Tuburan: A Case Study of Adaptation and Peasant Life in a Bisayan Barrio (Quezon City: UP-NSDB Integrated Research Program, 1976), pp. 97-113, 123-124. Jocano's cursory treatment of Visayan

lowland animism contrasts sharply with his own detailed study of its medical aspects in a lowland Tagalog community, see, F. Landa Jocano, Folk Medicine in a Philippine Municipality: An Analysis of the System of Folk Healing in Bay, Laguna, and its Implications for the Introduction of Modern Medicine (Manila: The National Museum, 1973).

48. These generalizations about animism in the Western Visayas in the mid 1970s are based on observations and taping of eleven complete rituals and interviews with the following mediums, Vicenta Aquiza, Babaylan, Poblacion, San Miguel, May 8, 1976; Beligario Cabaya, son of Babaylan Valentin Cabaya, Bo. Bobon, Leon, June 27, 1975; Gregorio Candado, Babaylan, Bo. Balud, San Miguel, May 7, 1976; Macario Cordero, Babaylan, Bo. Isian Kasling, Tigbauan, May 19, 1975; Wenceslao Gallego, Babaylan, Bo. Sta. Cruz, San Miguel, May 7, 1976; Ignacio Gonzales, Babaylan, Bo. Isian Kasling, Tigbauan, May 18, 1975; Laurencio Gonzales, high ranking Babaylan, Bo. Jamog, Tigbauan, May 2, 1975; Laurencio Relator, Babaylan, Poblacion, Duenas, May 4, 1975; Ester Sampani, Babaylan, Poblacion, San Miguel, May 22, 1976; Conrado Santiago, Babaylan, Bo. Bucare, Leon, June 26, 1975; Cosme Solinap, Babaylan, Bo. Igtambo, San Miguel, May 17, 1975.

49. On the role of the passion play in Tagalog political and religious culture, see Reynaldo Clemena Iletto, "Passion and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society" (Cornell Univ., Ph.D. diss., 1975); Casimero F. Perfecto, Kinabuhi Kag Pasion ni Jesuchristo nga Aton Ginuo (Iloilo: La Panavana, 1885).

50. Documents describing these practices are found in the Philippine National Archives in the protocols for Negros, for example; Legajo 1737, #350, 8 Aug. 1872; Legajo 1738, #158 and #160, 5 Mar. 1873; Legajo 1747, #422, May 14, 1876; Legajo 1748, #672, Sept. 9, 1876. See also, Alfred W. McCoy, "Iloilo-Factional Conflict in a Colonial Economy, 1938-1955" (Yale Univ., Ph.D. diss., 1977), pp. 1-142.

51. John R. White, Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands (New York: Century

Co., 1928), pp. 111-114, 116-118.

52. Licinio Ruiz, Sinopsis Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de las Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Descaizos (Manila: Univ. de Santo Tomas, 1925), pp. 147-150; Donn. V. Hart, "Buhawi of the Visayas: The Revitalization Process and Legend Making in the Philippines," in, Mario D. Zamora, ed., op. cit., pp. 366-396; "Barrio Cubay," in, Historical Data of Iloilo, op. cit., p. 34.

53. Paramos, op. cit., pp. 23-32.

54. Expediente de Yloilo, Oct. 1896, Sediciones y Rebeliones, Philippine National Archives.

55. Florencio R. Fabie, #1676, R-639, Philippine Insurgent Records (PIR).

56. Henry W. Munger, Christ and the Filipino Soul (Bowling Green, Mo.: Mrs. L.L. Munger, 1967), pp. 28-29.

57. Interview with Aurelio Lampino Golmayo, nephew of Gregorio Lampino, Jaro, Iloilo, 29 Oct. 1973.

58. Hojas de Servicio del Sr. Quintin Salas, 5 Nov. 1899, #205-7, R-637, PIR; Epifanio Concepcion, Memorias de un Revolucionario (Iloilo City: National Press, 1949), pp. 8-15.

59. El Tiempo, 13 Mar. 1907, p. 2; Servicio de Sr. Perfecto Salas, 5 Nov. 1899, #226-7, R-367; Quintin Salas, op. cit., #211.

60. Cornelio Palz, Ltr. 31 Oct. 1899, #1781, R-639, PIR; Munger, op. cit., pp. 28, 30-31; Interview with Rev. Restituto Ortigas, Baptist minister from Janiuay, Jaro, 17 Oct. 1973; interview with Casero Borro, son of Juan Borro, pulajan and Baptist leader, Dingle, 18 Apr. 1976; Agro-Industrial Fair, Bingawan, Iloilo, Souvenir Inagural Program, April 10-11, 1970.

61. Interview with Gregorio Valentin, son of Oto, Bo. Dagami, Maasin, 24 June 1975; El Porvenir de Bisayas, 29 Feb. 1896, p. 1; El Tiempo (Iloilo City), 16 Oct. 1903, p. 3; Bureau of Constabulary, Annual Report of the Director of Constabulary for the Fiscal Year 1910 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), p. 3;

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Appendix

Terms Relating to Spirit Medium, Spirits, and Spells Defined in Fr. John Kaufman's Visayan-English Dictionary (1935)

I. Spirit Medium:

Asuang	A wizard, witch, one that practices witchcraft, a sorcerer, magician, enchanter, one supposed to be in league with the devil and capable of doing harm by spells and enchantment; the devil.
Babaylan	Sorcerer, Wizard, magician, one versed in superstitious practices.
Busilian	Charming, enchanting, a spell-binder, one possessing powers or influence over others; a famous man, a hero.
Dalagangan	Conspicuous, famous, prominent, in the front row or rank; mighty, strong, powerful, brave, heroic; a hero.
Lihianon	One who observes superstitious rules and precepts or insists on such practices and vain ceremonies.
Manughilot	Masseur, masseuse, one who practices massage.
Mutyaan	Wizard, sorcerer, one supposed to practice the black art and be in league with the devil.
Silot	A wizard, witch, sorcerer.
Sirujano	Surgeon, operator.

II. Spirits:

Amalanhig	One who appears after death and haunts houses, etc; a ghost, spectre, phantom, spirit, wraith, spook, apparition;
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